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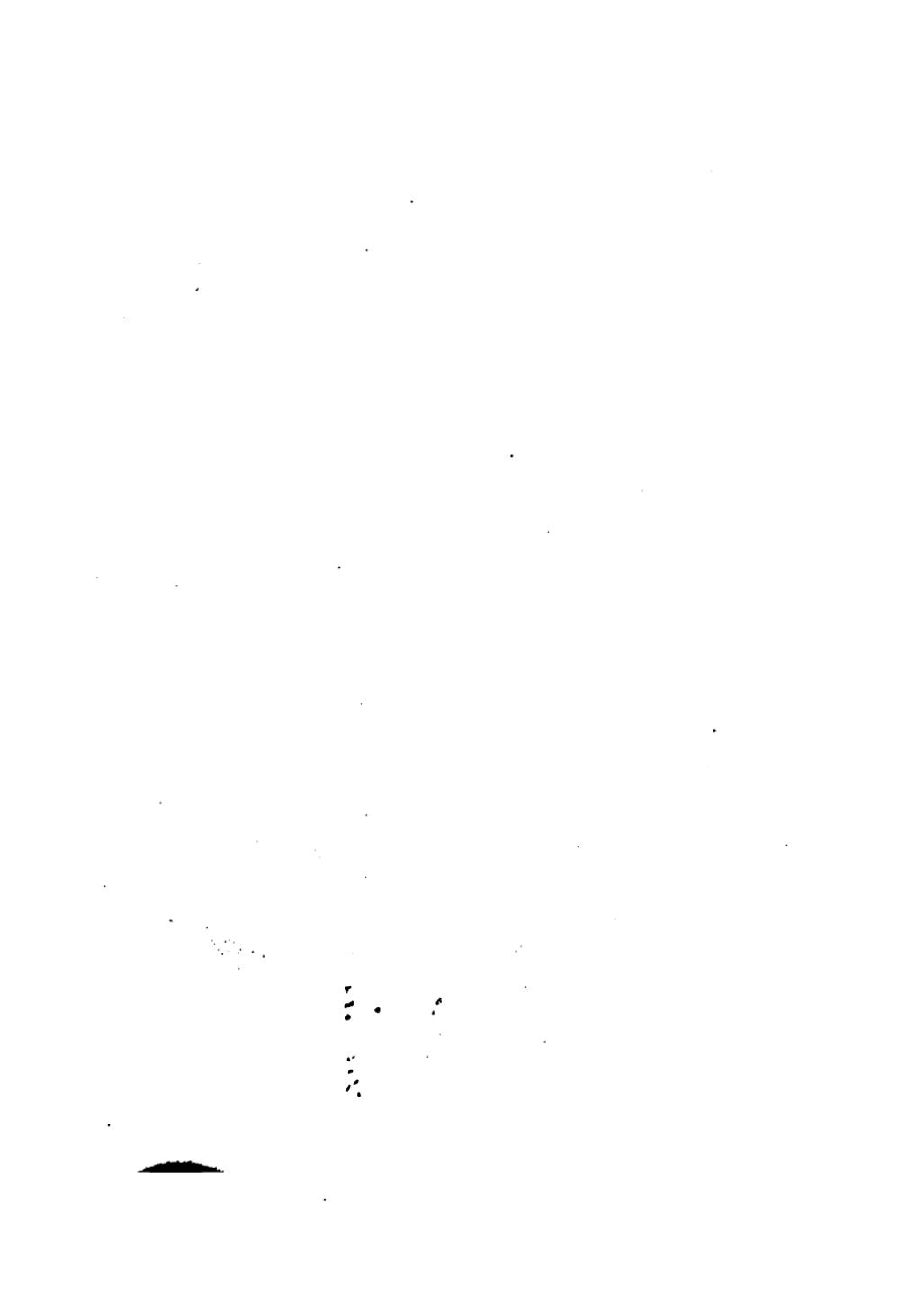
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REMARKS ON
DR. LIGHTFOOT'S
ESSAY
ON THE
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

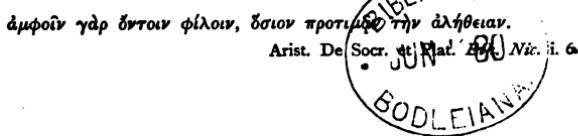


SOME REMARKS
ON THE ESSAY BY DR. LIGHTFOOT
NOW LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM
ON
THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

WITH REFERENCE ESPECIALLY
TO THE PRESBYTERIAN FORMULA OF SUBSCRIPTION
REQUIRED AT ORDINATION OF MINISTERS AND ELDERS
AND TO DEAN STANLEY'S SERMON PREACHED AT GLASGOW
ON "THE BURNING BUSH."

BY
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and Fellow of Winchester College*



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IT will not, I hope, be considered inconsistent with the highest respect and esteem, due personally and officially to the distinguished Scholar and Divine who now occupies the See of Durham, if I have thought it better in the following pages to designate him not by his Episcopal Title, but simply as Dr. Lightfoot. The 'Essay' was written more than ten years before he was elevated to the Episcopate—a fact of which it is desirable that the reader should be kept in mind; and though I have no actual reason to suppose that the Bishop's opinions have undergone any change or modification during that long and important interval, in which his continued and deeper studies upon the same early period of Ecclesiastical History have proved of such valuable service to the cause of our Holy Religion, it would not be fair or right to assume the contrary, and so to grant the full weight of high Episcopal sanction claimed for the teaching of the *Essay*, without clear and decisive evidence to that effect. I will merely add here, that if in the course of my 'Remarks' any word has escaped me by which I may seem to have forgotten for the moment the friendly relations in which I have been permitted to stand towards the distinguished individuals whose names occur most prominently in the

following pages, I should wish it *withdrawn* as quite unintentional, and shall greatly regret that my vigilance has not sufficed to prevent its intrusion. It will not, however, I trust, be imputed to me either as an unfriendly act, or as an act of undue presumption, if, after the publication of their sentiments, I have felt it necessary to reiterate and defend my own, published very widely many years before; which are in fact no other than those confessedly held hitherto by all the great Divines of the Church of England.

St. Andrews, July 21, 1879.

SOME REMARKS
ON
DR. LIGHTFOOT'S ESSAY.

THE use that has been made, more or less directly, of Dr. Lightfoot's *Essay on the Christian Ministry*, especially since his elevation to the Episcopate, in order to support the interests of *Presbyterianism*, and still more perhaps of *Indifferentism*, renders it desirable that its real teaching should be brought more fully and accurately under public notice; and I venture to hope that the attempt which I am now to make with that object in view may be found acceptable to many, and not least to the distinguished Author himself, who will welcome, I am sure, any careful and candid effort to defend and maintain *the interests of Truth* which, in all that he has written, he has endeavoured to promote.

I have said that the Essay in question has been used in the interests not only of *Presbyterianism* but of *Indifferentism*; which latter has now become the favourite view of all the more learned and more eminent Presbyterians in Scotland, and I suppose of some of the more extreme Broad Churchmen in England. But it is not against the latter so much as against the former that my

remarks will be directed; because I have to remember that whatever may be the private sentiments of individuals, the Presbyterian *formula* of subscription required at Ordination obliges all Ministers to declare their persuasion that the Presbyterian Church Government is 'founded upon the word of God, and agreeable thereto'; and also obliges them, and all Lay Elders, to promise that they 'will submit thereto, concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof.' And further, I have to remember that all attempts to relax even the Elders' formula have hitherto been resisted with complete success; whereas the Anglican Churches, who might make such a requirement in behalf of their own system with truth and justice, forbear to do so.

First, then, let me show, in part at least, that the necessity for these *Remarks* exists, and how it has arisen.

My friend the Dean of Westminster—and I cannot forget that it was at his hospitable Deanery I first had the honour of making the acquaintance of the eminent scholar and divine over whose evidence and authority the present discussion is to be raised—in a sermon which he preached some months ago (March 27) at Glasgow before a large Presbyterian audience, on occasion of the anniversary Festival of the Society of the Sons of Ministers of the Church of Scotland, and which he has since published under the title of 'The Burning Bush,' expressed himself as follows:

'There was a time when it used to be the prevailing belief of English divines that Episcopacy, in the sense of

the necessity of one presiding officer over every Christian community, reached back to the very first origin of the Christian Society. This belief, in the enlarged atmosphere of more exact scholarship and more enlightened candour, has now been abandoned. The most learned of all the living Bishops of England, whose accession to the great See of Durham has been recently welcomed by the whole Church of England with a rare unanimity and enthusiasm, has, with his characteristic moderation and erudition, proved beyond dispute in a celebrated essay attached to his edition of "St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians," that the early constitution of the Apostolic Churches of the first century was not that of a single Pastor, but of a body of Pastors indifferently styled "Bishops" or "Presbyters"; that it was not till the very end of the Apostolic age that the office which we now call the Episcopate, gradually and slowly made its way in the Churches of Asia Minor; that Presbytery was not a later growth out of Episcopacy, but that Episcopacy was a later growth out of Presbytery; that the office which the Apostles adopted was a rule not of Bishops but of Presbyters; and that even down to the fourth century presbyters as well as bishops possessed the power of nominating and consecrating bishops.

'The feeling which led to this primitive equality amongst the ministers of the Gospel did not altogether lose its expression, when, owing to that natural development of Christian civilization to which I before referred, there arose the various gradations of the Christian hierarchy. Not only were the bishops of the second and third

centuries, and in southern countries even down to later times, so numerous as to differ very little from the pastors of large parishes ; but there were, from the commencement of the Middle Ages, even continuing in part to our own times, large exceptions from the principle of Episcopal government which can be called by no other name than Presbyterian. The abbots throughout Europe were, for the most part, as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of bishops as if they had lived in the Presbyterian regimen of the first century at Corinth, or the eighteenth in Scotland. Those abbots, with all their dependents ; the great universities, with all their ecclesiastics ; the numerous peculiars which were found till lately in the heart of every diocese in England—were all fragments of Presbyterianism imbedded in the midst of the Episcopate. In Scotland, as is well known, the Abbatial or Presbyterian system, although not excluding the institution of Bishops for the sake of purely ministerial functions, was predominant from the time of Columba until the introduction of the Anglo-Norman hierarchy by Queen Margaret. When, therefore, in the sixteenth century the Reformers in a natural reaction against the extraordinary corruption and vice which, certainly in Scotland, had tended to make the very name of Episcopacy and Prelacy odious, adopted in this country the jurisdiction of presbyters, they were reverting both to the earliest form of ecclesiastical government which the New Testament affords, and also to those large exemptions from Episcopal rule which the Middle Ages never relinquished. I need not repeat what I have already urged, that the exclusive adoption of this form of

organization implied a want of insight into the more varied needs of human nature, as well as an indifference to the charms which belong to the historic growth of European civilization. It was a return, so to speak, towards a usage which, because primitive, was rude, undeveloped and incomplete; and which, therefore, the mind and practice of Christendom had long outgrown. But, with all these reservations, it is still not unimportant to the general welfare of Christendom that there should be, not only in those exceptional instances which the mediæval Church carefully preserved, but also in the national Church of a vigorous country like Scotland, a standing protest against the erroneous belief that the Episcopate, or the Patriarchate, or the Papacy was the original form of Christian government—against the opinion that Episcopacy is the only channel by which Christianity can be communicated to mankind. When we consider the besetting sins which accompany the concentration of power in a single person, or the temptations introduced amongst even the best of men by the graduated ambition of scaling the highest summits of the long ladder of preferment in the complex organization of other Churches, it is not unimportant there should be examples close at hand of a more simple and a more equalized system, which, although no doubt liable to great abuses and excesses of its own, furnishes some kind of equipoise to the prevailing and preponderating systems of more southern countries.

‘We all value the stability, the majesty, and the opportunities for usefulness inseparable from and hardly to be attained without the aid of monarchy; but the most loyal

supporter of royalty, whether constitutional or despotic, will be willing to recognise the value of at least some examples of aristocratic or republican government, such as those of Italy and Switzerland in the Middle Ages, or of the United States beyond the Atlantic, which serve at once to remind the proudest and the most beneficent sovereigns that they are not absolutely indispensable, and that some part at least of their duties can be performed by inferior and less perfectly developed constitutions. And in like manner the staunchest Prelatist or Episcopalian may acknowledge that they may derive some useful lessons from the usage of the pastors of a Presbyterian Church, some of whom are Bishops in all but the name, and many of them not less faithful ministers of their Divine Master than Fenelon or Tillotson, than Borromeo or Ken.' (pp. 19-23.)

I have thought it desirable to quote this passage in full, because, with the advantage of all the author's characteristic force of language, grace of style, and comprehension of statement, it raises the entire issue which it is my wish to bring before the reader, for his consideration and judgment, in the following pages.

And to this passage may be added, as rendering it still more complete, a further testimony to the same Essay, which the Dean has given in a note to an address on *The Historical Aspect of the American Churches*, delivered in Sion College, March 17, and subsequently published in *Macmillan's Magazine* for June, in which he writes: 'All the Bishops of the second century must have been created by Presbyters of the first century, and this usage continued

in Alexandria down to the fourth century. See Bishop Lightfoot's exhaustive Treatise on the Christian Ministry in his work on the Epistle to the Philippians, p. 228 sq.'

Less than two months after Dean Stanley preached at Glasgow the sermon from which the foregoing extract is taken, a no less eminent preacher and divine of the Church of Scotland, on an occasion still more important—viz. at the opening service of the General Assembly before the Lord High Commissioner in St. Giles' Cathedral, May 22—supported the argument of his discourse upon 'the Ideal of the Church'—a discourse replete with the writer's characteristic excellences of philosophical moderation and literary skill—by referring as follows to the same essay of Dr. Lightfoot:

'That this conclusion may not be supposed to rest on any mere statement of mine, let me quote the words of one who may on such a subject be recognised as perhaps the greatest living authority—the recently appointed Bishop of Durham. In his well-known Essay on the Christian Ministry, which has attracted wide attention, he says of the ideal of the Christian Church, which is that also of which I am speaking, that it is "in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal It has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries. Above all, it has no sacerdotal system. All Christians are priests alike." (p. 7.)

But it is not only through the evidence of great occasions such as those already mentioned, that I have been led to suppose that the execution of the task now before me may perhaps be useful, and is not uncalled for.

Before Dr. Lightfoot had been raised to the eminence which he now occupies—so deservedly—in the Church of England, his authority had been objected to me in a way which alone might suffice to justify my present attempt. A Presbyterian layman, of high literary and official eminence, happened to be present on an occasion when I consecrated a small church in my diocese, and at the same time preached what I meant to be an appropriate discourse. I had reason to think that my sermon had been favourably received not only by our own people, but by the Presbyterians present, and it was printed by special request. Soon after, however, I was sorry and disappointed to find that I had been mistaken—at least so far as regarded the estimate formed concerning it by the distinguished friend to whom I have referred. For, on the first occasion of our meeting afterwards, he took me to task at once, accosting me in language to this effect: ‘How could you venture to say, in that sermon which I heard you preach at —, that Episcopacy has come down from the Apostles’ time?’—it had occurred to me to quote the opening sentence of the Preface¹ to our Ordination Services—‘surely you must know that one of the most learned English divines now living, Dr. Lightfoot, has admitted that it cannot be traced higher than the middle of the second century, when it appeared as a development of Presbyterianism.’

Once more: in a letter which appeared only a few days

¹ ‘It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ’s Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.’

ago in the *Scottish Guardian*, June 27th, from the Rev. Dr. Chrystal, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the present year, in reply to some strictures made in that Journal upon his Moderator's address, he writes: 'The Scriptures furnish no evidence of a threefold Hierarchy. We only read of two orders of Ministers—Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons; and are we wrong in saying that the *present Bishop of Durham has made it plain* that during the first century there was no such Church organization as is now advocated?'

Now, I am quite persuaded that in no one of these instances was there on the part of the individuals referred to, I will not say merely the least *intention* to mislead, but the least *consciousness* of being otherwise than strictly accurate. And yet I venture to think that Dr. Lightfoot himself would scarcely accept any of those statements, as conveying a thoroughly fair and adequate representation of the conclusion to which his dissertation comes.

And how has this arisen?

Dr. Lightfoot begins by laying down the very broadest possible basis for the argument which he proceeds to raise. So broad indeed is it, that he has no sooner laid it down, but he begins immediately to qualify or contract it: because, as he admits, 'if allowed to stand alone, it would suggest a false impression, or at least would convey only a half-truth.' In these words we have the character of the Essay foreshadowed. It requires to be read *very* carefully, and quoted *very* cautiously, and *very* fully, or not at all. One portion of the broad statement thus alluded

to and partially quoted as we have already seen by Principal Tulloch, is as follows :

‘The kingdom of Christ—has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries, because every time and place alike are holy. Above all, it has no sacerdotal system. It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between God and man, by whose intervention alone God is reconciled and man forgiven.’ (p. 179.)

But two pages further on we read, as was to be expected, a correction—almost a repudiation—in part at least, of the negations thus broadly indicated as necessary to constitute the true Ideal of the Christian Church :

‘Strict loyalty to this conception was not held incompatible with practical measures of organization. As the Church grew in numbers, it became necessary to provide for the emergency by fixed rules and definite officers The celebration of the first day in the week at once, the institution of annual festivals afterwards, were seen to be necessary to stimulate and direct the devotion of the believers. The appointment of definite places of meeting in the earliest days, the erection of special buildings for worship at a later date, were found indispensable to the working of the Church. But the Apostles never lost sight of the idea in their teaching. They proclaimed loudly that “God dwelleth not in temples made by hands.” They indignantly denounced those who “observed days, and months, and seasons, and years.” This language is not satisfied by supposing that they condemned only the temple-worship in the one case, that they reprobated only Jewish sabbaths and new moons

in the other. It was against the false principle that they waged war ; the principle which exalted the means into an end, and gave an absolute intrinsic value to subordinate aids and expedients. These aids and expedients, for his own sake and for the good of the society to which he belonged, a Christian could not afford to hold lightly or neglect. But they were no part of the *essence* of God's message to man in the Gospel : they must not be allowed to obscure the idea of Christian worship.

'So it was also with the Christian priesthood.' (p. 182.)

And here let us pause and ask ourselves whether we do not seem to be entering upon rather dangerous ground. The grand idea of Christianity here insisted on, which appears virtually to sacrifice the means to the end—which makes the latter to be 'the be-all' of the Gospel, and the former to become as nothing in the comparison—is one with which in this country we have long been familiar. Bishop Primus John Skinner had to contend against it in his book, written as a reply to statements made in Principal George Campbell's Posthumous *Lectures on Church History*, in 1803¹. I myself had to contend against it in my Charge of 1864, in which I undertook to answer the challenge thrown out by Principal Pirie in his Moderator's address of that year. It is an idea to which they whose 'means' of Church organization (as involving a departure from the ministry and worship of the Universal Church—i. e. from two of 'those inherited beliefs and traditions of Christendom, from which,' as Principal Tulloch most truly²

¹ See his *Primitive Truth and Order*, p. 104 sq.

² See *The Ideal of the Church*, p. 17, quoted below, p. 67.

observes, 'no church can without injury separate itself') are liable to be called in question, will always be tempted to have recourse. But, if we will believe a greater even than Bishop Lightfoot, and a predecessor of his—he himself in his Enthronization sermon of May 15 spoke of him as 'the greatest of the Bishops of Durham'—it is an idea which may become highly dangerous to us, if we attempt to carry it too far. Accordingly, it may be well to compare in the first instance the broad view of Christianity as laid down by Bishop Butler (who, be it remembered, was brought up a Presbyterian) with that of Bishop Lightfoot. After speaking of the moral design of the Gospel, as an authoritative publication of Natural Religion, with the addition 'of a particular dispensation of Providence, the Redemption of the world by the Messiah,' including 'the clearer light thrown upon the great doctrines of a future state, the danger of a course of wickedness, and the efficacy of repentance,' Bishop Butler proceeds: 'As Christianity served these ends and purposes, when it was first published, by the miraculous publication itself; so it was intended to serve the same purposes in future ages, by means of the settlement of a visible Church: of a society, distinguished from common ones, and from the rest of the world, by peculiar religious institutions; by an instituted method of instruction, and an instituted form of external religion.' (*Anal.* Part ii. c. 1. p. 210 sq.) Here we have a clear statement of a *Divine intention* from the first, as applicable to 'the peculiar Religious Institutions' of Christianity—'an instituted method of instruction, and an instituted form of external religion.' It is this which

appears to be wanting in Bishop Lightfoot—*as he commences his investigation, though not as he concludes it.* At first he appears to see nothing in the Church but its ‘freedom,’ its ‘comprehensiveness,’ its ‘universality’—together with the entire absence of ‘the restrictions which fetter other societies, political or religious.’ But in the end he accepts ‘the FACT that the form of the threefold ministry has been handed down from Apostolic times,’—not merely from the middle of the second century,—‘and may well be presumed to have A DIVINE SANCTION.’ (p. 266.)

But to return to Bishop Butler, and *his* view of Christianity. ‘Let it be remembered then, that Religion comes under the twofold consideration of internal and external: for the latter is as real a part of Religion, of true Religion, as the former.’ (Ibid. p. 217.) And then, having drawn the distinction clearly between moral precepts and positive duties (p. 222 sq.), he admits—or rather he asserts, no less strongly than Bishop Lightfoot, or Principal Tulloch, or Dean Stanley would do—‘that the *general* Spirit of Religion consists in moral piety and virtue, as distinguished from forms and ritual observances.’ He takes care, however, to add—and this is what the readers of Dr. Lightfoot and Dr. Tulloch may perhaps more or less desiderate in *their* several representations of the same matter:—‘But as it is one of the peculiar weaknesses of human nature, when, upon a comparison of two things, one is found to be of greater importance than the other, to consider this other as of scarce any importance at all; it is highly necessary that we remind ourselves, *how great presumption*

it is, to make light of any institutions of divine appointment, that our obligations to obey all God's commands whatever, are absolute and indispensable; and that commands merely positive, admitted to be from Him, lay us under *a moral obligation* to obey them: an obligation *moral in the strictest and most proper sense*.' (Ibid. p. 229 sq.)

If this doctrine be sound—as I, for my part, do not doubt it is—can we venture to say (as Dr. Lightfoot seems to do) that Institutions such, e. g. as that of Baptism, or of the Lord's Supper, with its deeply mysterious character; or of the Lord's Day, typical, as it is, of the Heavenly Sabbath; or even of Confirmation¹, with its gift of the Holy Spirit,—can we venture to say that these Institutions may not be of the *very essence of Christianity*? In regard to the two great Sacraments of the Gospel, we know that our Church, following the plain teaching of Scripture, has pronounced that 'they are generally necessary to salvation.' And can we suppose less of the Institution² of the Christian Ministry? Indeed, to look for a moment to the opposite view, the reader of Dr. Lightfoot may have observed how the broad negative statement with which he opens his Dissertation, appeared to break down, even when he began to qualify it. 'The Gospel,' he writes, 'is contrasted with the Law, as the Spirit with

¹ See Heb. vi. 1, 2, where it appears to be spoken of as a fundamental principle of the doctrine of Christ.

² The *Second Book of Homilies* (Of Common Prayer and Sacraments) speaks of the ordering of Ministers as a *Sacrament*, 'having its visible sign and promise'; though not *such* a Sacrament as Baptism and the Communion. (p. 316.)

the Letter. Its ethical principle is not¹ a code of positive ordinances, but conformity to a perfect Exemplar, incorporation into a Divine Society. This distinction is most important and eminently fertile in practical results. But then he presently adds, in words which I have had occasion partially to quote before: 'Strict loyalty to this conception was not held incompatible with practical measures of organization. As the Church grew in numbers, it became necessary to provide for the emergency by fixed rules and definite officers. The celebration of the first day in the week at once, the institution of annual festivals afterwards, were seen to be necessary to stimulate and direct the devotion of the believers. The appointment of definite places of meeting in the earliest days, the erection of special buildings for worship at a later date, were found indispensable to the working of the Church. But the Apostles never lost sight of the idea in their teaching. They proclaimed loudly that "God dwelleth not in temples made by hands." (p. 182.) Yes! but when S. Stephen made use of those words (Acts vii. 48) he was only repeating what Solomon had said 900 years before *under the Law* (1 Kings viii. 27). And so with regard to the observance of the Lord's Day. Certain it is that the Christian Church from the first has insisted on the positive precept and duty of obedience to the *Fourth Commandment* (in its Christian application) no less than upon the positive precepts and duties of the *other nine*. S. Paul's

¹ Is not this put in rather too strong contrast with our Lord's own words in the Sermon on the Mount: 'I am not come to destroy the law, &c., but to fulfil'?

injunction for an Offertory Collection on the first day of the week (1 Cor. xvi. 2) as a day already of fixed observance is scarcely consistent with what follows: 'They (the Apostles) indignantly denounced those who "observed days, and months, and seasons, and years." This language is not satisfied by supposing that they reprobated only Jewish Sabbaths and new moons, &c. It was against the false principle that they waged war; the principle which exalted the means into an end, and gave an absolute intrinsic value to subordinate aids and expedients. These aids and expedients, for his own sake and for the good of the society to which he belonged, a Christian could not afford to hold lightly or neglect. But they were no part of the *essence* of God's message to man in the Gospel: they must not be allowed to obscure the idea of Christian worship. So it was also with the Christian priesthood.' (p. 182.)

For my own part, if I may be allowed to say so with all due respect, I do not feel satisfied with the tenor of the foregoing remarks as laying an adequate or satisfactory foundation for a discussion on the Institution of the Christian Ministry¹. It tempts us altogether to forget that the

¹ Dr. Lightfoot's confidence in himself and in his own theory will be best understood from the following passage: 'The careful student will observe that this idea [of an universal Priesthood] has been very imperfectly apprehended; that *throughout the history of the Church* it has been struggling for recognition, at most times discerned in some of its aspects, but *at all times wholly ignored in others*; and that therefore the actual results are a very inadequate measure of its efficiency, *if only it could assume due prominence, and were allowed free scope in action.*' (p. 181.) What do these ominous words imply?

Institution of which we are to trace the upgrowth is not human but Divine. It attributes far too much to mere secondary causes, and leaves no room for the operation of those which lay beyond the sphere of this lower world. The formal Institution of the Apostolate, *before* 'the Church grew in numbers'; and again, notwithstanding that the number of professed Disciples had shrunk to about 120, the alleged *necessity* (*δει*) for the appointment of one to fill the place of the traitor Judas (Acts i. 21), so that the Duodecimvirate might be again complete,—be token the operation of causes which we cannot trace if we are to look *merely* to the surface of historical events. And so when all sacerdotalism under the Gospel is denied by Dr. Lightfoot (p. 179), and all Christians as individuals are pronounced to be 'Priests alike' (p. 183, and comp. pp. 243, 260)—which might have been said in a certain sense, and is said, as Dr. Lightfoot points out (p. 180), by God Himself, equally of all Jews under the Law¹, I can scarcely suppose he means to say—though others perhaps would not scruple to say it for him—that no special grace or gift of the Spirit is conveyed in the laying on of hands of Episcopal Ordination or Episcopal Confirmation; or, that if there is, any Presbyter, nay, any Deacon or any Layman of the Diocese of Durham is equally competent to convey the same. And yet the words he uses at p. 184 seem to admit of no other inference: 'the most exalted office in the Church, the highest gift of the Spirit, conveyed no sacerdotal right which was not

¹ Exod. xix. 6. Cp. Rev. i. 6, and Isaiah lxvi. 21.

enjoyed by the humblest member of the Christian community¹.

Afterwards (p. 257) he lays down the democratic principle that the Christian *people* are the only true source of all power in the Church; it is with them, and not with 'the Eleven²' and their successors, that Christ promises *to be even unto the end of the world* (p. 267): the Apostolic doctrine, so he writes in the former place, consisting in this, that the Priesthood of the Ministry is to be regarded as springing from the Priesthood of the whole Body; any other view indicates 'a divergence from Primitive Truth.' (p. 257.)

But it is time to enter upon the stages of the investigation through which Dr. Lightfoot is now waiting to conduct us in chronological order. I have spoken elsewhere³ of the value which I attached seven years ago to 'the critical, and, so to speak, scientific spirit of Dr. Lightfoot's *Essay*—entirely in harmony as it is with

¹ Principal Tulloch, though, as quoted above, he appears to adopt the language of Dr. Lightfoot, does in fact, for himself, take higher ground. He speaks of 'the Divine *charisma* imparted to Timothy by his ordination to the Christian Ministry'; and he describes this *charisma* or gift as 'the special qualification of Timothy for his high office of Pastor and Bishop in the Church.' *Ideal of the Church*, p. 3.

² See Math. xxviii. 16-20. The Introduction to our Scottish Code of Canons, p. x, assumes that the great commission there spoken of (comp. Mark xvi. 14-16) was addressed to *the eleven Apostles only*: and speaks of it as 'the fundamental Charter' of the Church. Meyer in *loc.* is of the same opinion: but Bp. Ellicott, *Hist. Lect.*, p. 411, takes the other side.

³ Preface to my *Outlines of the Christian Ministry*, published in 1872.

the most advanced scholarship of the present day—its thoroughly accurate and profound research, its calm judicial tone, and above all its transparent impartiality, *leading the writer to distrust conclusions in favour of his own clerical position rather than the contrary;* and I have no wish to revoke or disavow this favourable estimate; only, upon the more close inspection which is now called for, I shall have occasion to give some evidence for the conviction which I have all along entertained, that the ground taken up is *lower than the Truth demands*, and that the *concessions made in favour of a non-Episcopal Ministry*—in not a few of the details though not in the conclusion arrived at—*may require*, if we will be strictly just, to be *reconsidered and recalled*. To proceed then to the task before us: and first,

Of the Episcopate of James at Jerusalem.

This Episcopate was founded, if we will believe Epiphanius and Chrysostom, by our Lord Himself—and His remarkable appearance, recorded only by S. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 7), to James alone, after His Resurrection, does not seem capable of being otherwise accounted for; or if we will take the word of Clement of Alexandria, of Eusebius, and of Jerome, by the Apostles, after the Ascension. There is, however, no real inconsistency between the two accounts; for the Apostles, knowing that he had been *designated* by our Lord, would naturally give effect to the appointment; and so Eusebius, in another passage, and the Apostolical Constitutions, agree in stating that ‘he was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord Himself

and His Apostles.' In addition to the above-named authorities, we have also Papias (the disciple of S. John), Hegesippus, Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Augustine, and the unknown author of the *Synopsis S. Scripturae*, ascribed to S. Athanasius, all concurring in the fact itself that James was Bishop—the first Bishop—of Jerusalem¹. And be it remembered that before the time of the earliest of all those authorities there had ceased to be any ambiguity in the use of the Episcopal designation: it meant *one who had been promoted to the highest order of the Threefold Ministry*.

And now what says Dr. Lightfoot upon the subject of this Episcopate? He is not very willing to see in James anything more than a Moderator² of the Body of Presbyters, whose early institution, as an order of the Christian Ministry, though not expressly recorded, he recognizes—no less than he recognizes the appointment of the Order of Deacons—in the early days of the Church at Jerusalem (p. 190). He considers that the Second Persecution, in which James the brother of John suffered martyrdom (Acts xii. 2), 'was the signal for the dispersion of the Twelve on a wider mission.' He continues: 'Since Jerusalem would no longer be the home of the Twelve, it became necessary to provide for the permanent direction of the Church there; and for this purpose the usual government of the Synagogue would be adopted. Now at all

¹ See the author's *Synodal Address*, 1866, Appendix, pp. 63-69, in which all the passages above referred to will be found quoted at length from the original authorities. Also *Outlines*, pp. 62-65.

² This is also the view of the Presbyterian Mosheim.

events for the first time we read of “presbyters” in connexion with the Christian brotherhood at Jerusalem. From this time forward all official communications with the mother Church are carried on through their intervention. To the presbyters Barnabas and Saul bear the alms contributed by the Gentile Churches. The presbyters are persistently associated with the Apostles, in convening the congress, in the superscription of the decree, and in the general settlement of the dispute between the Jewish and Gentile Christians. By the presbyters S. Paul is received many years later on his last visit to Jerusalem, and to them he gives an account of his missionary labours and triumphs.’ (p. 191.)

In this view Dr. Lightfoot appears, for the time, to sweep away all regard for the Patristical and Historical testimony referred to above, and to have recourse only to his own conjecture respecting the *Synagogue Government*—a conjecture, supported, as we shall presently see, by little or nothing more than a questionable application of the single text, Acts xi. 30. And this is the more remarkable—and the more to be regretted—because he has himself most judiciously laid down the rule, that, upon the subject before us, ‘In this clamour of antagonistic opinions, History is obviously the sole upright and impartial referee’; and he has added the promise, ‘the historical mode of treatment will therefore be strictly adhered to in the following investigation.’ (p. 185.) Is not then the statement of Hegesippus to be depended on when, in a fragment preserved by both Eusebius and Jerome, he records that ‘James, the Lord’s Brother, who was surnamed the Just,

received the government of the Church at Jerusalem *with* [μετὰ implying here, probably, the concurrence and support of] the Apostles¹? Earlier in the same Book of his History (c. 11), Eusebius himself, describing the course pursued by the Apostles immediately after Christ's Ascension, writes as follows:—‘First, then, Matthias was chosen by lot to be an Apostle in the place of the traitor Judas. There were also appointed, by prayer, and laying on of hands of the Apostles, approved men, seven in number, of whom Stephen was one, to the office of Deacons, for the public service. Then, too, it was that *James*, called the brother of our Lord, whom our forefathers on account of the excellence of his virtue surnamed the Just, was called to occupy the See (*θρόνον*) of the Church at Jerusalem—so our records inform us²—as the first Bishop.’ Is not Eusebius to be believed when he writes thus? Again, in the twenty-third chapter of the same Book, Eusebius writes:—‘The Jews, having been disappointed in the plot, which they had contrived against Paul, turned themselves against *James* the Lord’s brother, to whom the See (*θρόνος*) of the Episcopate at Jerusalem had been committed by the Apostles’; and then follows a most remarkable

¹ See Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23; Jerom. *De Vir. Illust.* The latter has ‘post Apostolos,’ and in the Greek μετὰ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους.

² Elsewhere (lib. v. c. 18) he mentions a tradition, preserved by Apollonius, the Apologist, who suffered martyrdom under Commodus (A.D. 180–192), that ‘our Saviour commanded His Disciples not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years.’ This may account for the absence of James’ name in the Acts till ch. xii. 17. See Shirley’s *Apostolic Age*, p. 10 and note.

and affecting account derived from Hegesippus of the manner in which he suffered martyrdom, a narration which is also confirmed in part by Josephus. Testimony to the same effect is repeated twice again in the third Book, in the fifth and seventh chapters. In the same Book also, chapter xi., we read the appointment of his successor, as follows:—‘After the martyrdom of James, and the taking of Jerusalem, which immediately followed, it is commonly reported that the Apostles and Disciples of the Lord who were still alive, together with those of His kindred according to the flesh (many of whom had survived until that time), met together and consulted whom they should fix upon as worthy to succeed James. And all, with one accord, agreed on Simeon the son of Cleophas (who is mentioned in the Gospel) as a fit and proper person to occupy the Bishop’s See (*θρόνον*) in that Diocese, being himself also a cousin of our Saviour.’ Once more, in the seventh Book of the same historian, chapter xix., we read that the chair in which James used to sit as Bishop had been carefully kept as a memorial and was wont to be shown to visitors, just as the chair of the Venerable Bede is still preserved in the Church of Jarrow; and in that passage it is distinctly stated (as quoted above) that he was ‘appointed first Bishop of Jerusalem *by our Saviour Himself and His Apostles.*’

Once more I ask, is not Eusebius to be believed when he makes these statements? And if not, why is this? At p. 206 Dr. Lightfoot writes, ‘As early as the middle of the second century *all parties* concur as representing James as a Bishop in the strict sense of

the term.' Again I ask, why are not *all parties* to be believed?

But to revert to Holy Scripture. Let us see what it is that, with the New Testament in our hands, we require to know.

We require to know why our Lord, after His Resurrection, should have appeared to 'James' singly. Who was this James, and why was this honour bestowed upon him?

We require to know why S. Peter, when he had escaped from prison, and came by night to the house of Mary—the mother of John Mark—where many disciples were gathered together praying, and when he had related to them his strange adventure, added, 'Go shew these things unto *James* and *to the Brethren* (Acts xii. 17)—not, be it observed, to the Presbyters.

We require to know why James, who (whether he were an Apostle or not¹) has no prominence given to him in the Gospels, should have had so much prominence assigned to him in the Acts, and especially at the Council of Jerusalem, where—if the Apostles were not all present, certainly Peter and Paul and Barnabas were—he acted as President, and, in the words of Dr. Lightfoot, 'suggested the decision, and appears to have framed the decree.' (p. 195.)

We require to know why it was that on three, if not four, several occasions, which embrace together a period of at least twenty years, James was found by S. Paul

¹ Dr. Lightfoot is of opinion (p. 195) that he was *not* one of the Twelve.

in residence at Jerusalem, and visited by that great Apostle and Missionary of the Gentiles, as one whom it concerned even him to see and to confer with.

We require to know why, in Gal. ii. 9, S. Paul describes him as 'a pillar,' and places him as such before even Peter and John.

We require to know why it was that at Antioch certain persons of Jerusalem, who represented themselves as having come (not from the Presbytery of Jerusalem, but) 'from James,' had sufficient influence to induce both S. Peter and S. Barnabas to alter their course of conduct upon a difficult question of the first importance (Gal. ii. 12).

We require to know why, in the New Testament, the Epistle of S. James should stand first in the order of the Catholic Epistles—before those of S. Peter and S. John ; and why S. Jude should designate himself in part as 'the Brother of James,' and should be so designated by S. Luke, both in his Gospel and in the Acts.

Now, I submit that the theory of a *Synagogue* and of a *Presbytery with a Moderator*, will not enable us to answer these questions at all sufficiently ; yet, they are questions upon which we require satisfaction as in a matter of prime importance ; because we are persuaded that what was done at Jerusalem, the Mother Church, while the Apostles were still residing there together, by their joint discretion—that is, by the direction of the Holy Ghost—was done everywhere by each of them singly, when they were dispersed, throughout the Churches in Gentile lands.

On the other hand, what is it that a maintainer of the opposite, i. e. the Presbyterian theory, requires to know?

- He requires us to explain why the alms of the Gentile disciples collected for the relief of the poor brethren which dwelt in Judæa, and conveyed by the hands of Barnabas and Saul, were sent to the Elders (Presbyters) and not to James, as the Bishop.

Observe, it is not said, 'which dwelt in Jerusalem,' but 'in Judæa'; neither is it said that the Presbyters were Presbyters of Jerusalem. They may have belonged to congregations in country places; in which case it was only natural to send the contribution direct to them. And further, be it observed, that the matter being one of finance—and of charitable finance—the Presbyters may have been thought the more suitable party to communicate with; especially when we remember the action of the Apostles themselves in declining to 'serve tables' on the occasion somewhat similar, which led to the appointment of the seven Deacons.

In the other two instances to which Dr. Lightfoot refers in support of his Synagogue or Presbyterian theory, he scarcely exhibits (as it appears to me) his usual strictness of careful and accurate representation.

i. It is quite true that the Presbyters are persistently associated with the Apostles in the matter of the Jerusalem Synod—'in convening the Congress, in the superintroduction of the Decree, &c.'—and that no special mention is made of James in these respects; but if James were an Apostle, as many have supposed, this would not be

necessary¹; and, in any case, if *his name* had been put prominently and singly forward in such documents, might not this have exposed him to an imminent risk of incurring the same untimely end as that which early befell S. Stephen and S. James, the Brother of John, and which did eventually overtake himself, as we have seen from Eusebius, when his actual position had become more notorious?

2. Is it quite correct to say, as Dr. Lightfoot has said without any mention of James, that '*by the Presbyters* S. Paul is received many years later on his last visit to Jerusalem, and *to them* he gives an account of his missionary labours and triumphs'? What we read is: 'And the day following Paul went in unto James, and all the Elders (Presbyters) were present.' The former version exhibits to us a Presbytery in session, and nothing more. In the latter and, as I cannot but think, true version, we seem to discover a Bishop, surrounded by his Presbyters, in a Diocesan Synod. And I may add that we seem to catch the same view, not of a Moderator, but of a Bishop discharging his episcopal functions, when S. James in his Epistle gives directions to those that are sick to 'send for the Presbyters of the Church,' and, on the other hand, to the Presbyters themselves when so sent for, 'to pray over them' (v. 14).

Hitherto, then, has there been any evidence whatever in favour of Presbytery? Has there been anything whatever to justify the assertion that 'the Presbyterian

¹ See *Outlines*, p. 66.

form of Church government is founded upon the word of God, and agreeable thereto? Has not all the evidence we have yet seen, both Scriptural and Historical, been in favour of a prelatical episcopate, and of a threefold ministry? And if the evidence after all is not in all points so full or so distinct as we could wish, we know how this is to be accounted for.

1. Dr. Lightfoot justly remarks: 'the first Disciples conformed to the religion of their fathers in all essential points, practising Circumcision, observing the Sabbath, and attending the Temple worship.' (p. 190.) They had occasion, indeed, for a ministry of their own, if only to celebrate 'the Breaking of the Bread,' and for special prayers, as well as for special preaching and instruction (see *Acts* ii. 42, 46); but they studiously avoided, as far as possible, all unnecessary interference with the Jewish hierarchy—the threefold ministry of the Law—until it should be 'taken out of the way' in God's own time, by the destruction of Jerusalem¹.

2. The necessity for cautious measures, and the duty of withdrawing themselves from persecution, would naturally tend to the same result. But I see no reason whatever to doubt that the episcopal succession at Jerusalem, as Eusebius represents it, basing it upon James, and continuing it downward through Simeon, Justus, &c., is substantially correct. Such it is evidently regarded by Mr. Fynes Clinton; nor, after all, does Dr. Lightfoot, as

¹ See *Outlines*, p. 70, and *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1878, p. 897 sq.

he advances further into his Essay, materially dissent from the same estimate of its trustworthiness (see p. 206).

But to return to the Essay in its earlier stage. The name *Episcopus*¹ does not occur in the Acts in connexion with the Church of Jerusalem, nor is any other such name given to S. James, only he has been seen again and again in an Episcopal and Prelatical position ; just as the name of Christians was not given to the Disciples at the first, nor first at Jerusalem, but at Antioch, though multitudes had lived and died as Christians. But in his discussion concerning *Presbyters* at Jerusalem, Dr. Lightfoot has been led to take account of their other name, or rather descriptive designation, *Episcopi* or *Overseers* (not over one another but 'in the flock,' see *Acts* xx. 28), which comes up afterwards in the Acts and in S. Paul ; and in so doing he has committed himself to what appears to me the *πρότον ψεύδος*—the prime blemish of his Essay, viz. 'that the Episcopate, properly so called, would seem to have been developed from the subordinate office. In other words, the Episcopate was formed not out of the Apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyteral by elevation ; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them.' (p. 194 ; see also p. 225.)

Now, as applied to Jerusalem—of the Gentile Churches we shall speak presently—what evidence is there of this theory ? Dr. Lightfoot, indeed, admits that 'James, the

¹ Only *ἐπίσκοπος* is used of the Apostolic office from which Judas fell (*Acts* i. 20).

Lord's brother, and James alone, within the period compassed by the Apostolic writings, can claim to be regarded as Bishop in the later and more special sense of the term.' (p. 195.) But he attained to the office, we are told, only gradually, through this process of development; 'not out of the Apostolic Order by localization, but out of the Presbyteral by elevation'; not *through any designation by our Lord*, nor *through any appointment by the Apostles*; but, as we are left to infer, by election from among the Presbyters, with or without consecration by them, through his own special merits and the force of his own personal character. And so Dr. Lightfoot writes: 'We might expect to find, in the Mother Church of Jerusalem, which as the earliest founded would soonest ripen into maturity, the first traces of this developed form of the Ministry. Nor is this expectation disappointed.' (p. 195.) Accordingly, the precedence given to him in the language of S. Paul (Gal. ii. 9), his presidency at the Apostolic Council, &c., are referred to and noticed as the 'more remarkable if, as seems to be the case, he was not one of the Twelve.' But then, it is added, 'On the other hand, though especially prominent, he appears in the Acts as a member of a Body.' And again: though 'singled out from the rest and placed in a position of superior responsibility, he remains a member of the Presbyteral Council.' (p. 205.) The proofs of this, which have all been already noticed (viz. Acts xii. 17; xxi. 18; xi. 30; comp. xv. 4, 23; xvi. 4), appear, as I have shewn, to be insufficient; but nevertheless, Dr. Lightfoot is not deterred from drawing his conclusion, which is as follows: 'If in

some passages S. James is named by himself, in others he is omitted, and the Presbyters alone are mentioned. From this it may be inferred that, though holding a position superior to the rest, he was still considered as a *member of the Presbytery*; that he was in fact *the head or president of the College.*’ (p. 196.)

Had Dr. Lightfoot enjoyed the opportunity of witnessing the operations of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, instead of those of the Church of England; had he seen the meetings required annually by our Canon of a Bishop with his Clergy in Diocesan Synods—forming a Council, ‘a worthy spiritual coronal’ round the Bishop, as we see them in Ignatius¹—he would have been less inclined, I believe, to draw the shadowy distinction to which he appears to cling; and would have thrown himself at once without misgiving upon the simple acceptance of his own statements:—‘James, the Lord’s brother . . . can claim to be regarded as a Bishop in the later and more special sense of the term’ (p. 195); ‘The Episcopal Office existed in the Mother Church of Jerusalem from very early days, at least in a rudimentary form’ (p. 196). How could it have existed otherwise than in such a form in very early days, and when the whole body of the Apostles, who would at once screen and overshadow the Bishop, was still remaining there? ‘It seems vain to deny with Rothe that the position of James in the Mother Church furnished the precedent and the pattern of the later Episcopate’ (p. 204); ‘The Church of Jerusalem,

¹ See *Ep. Magn.* c. 13. Comp. Dr. Lightfoot, p. 255.

as I have already pointed out, presents the earliest instance of a Bishop' (p. 206). And James, be it remembered, was put to death A.D. 67 or 70¹.

Whether James is 'the *only one* within the period compassed by the Apostolic writings' who can make the allowed claim—whether 'the New Testament presents no distinct traces of such organization in the Gentile congregations' (p. 196), as Dr. Lightfoot asserts, is next to be considered.

Of the Episcopate in the Gentile Church.

Now, what we shall want to know is,

1. From whence the Ordination of Ministers was to be derived.
2. How the superintendence of the ordained was to be carried on.

We shall have to ask—

Did they ordain each other?

Did they superintend each other?

And, if the answer be in the affirmative, then—but not otherwise—we shall pronounce that Presbytery is 'founded on the word of God and agreeable thereto'; then we shall find that the Presbyterian formula of subscription in the Ordination of Ministers and Elders is strictly justifiable, and ought to be retained.

In pursuing this enquiry we shall not need to be told that in Gentile lands recourse must be had at first to *extraordinary ministrations*, such as S. Paul speaks of

¹ See Fynes Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 556.

at Corinth and elsewhere. Neither shall we need to trouble ourselves about the use of the names, afterwards assigned to the three Orders of the Ministry, knowing how indeterminately all such words as *APOSTOLUS*¹—*Legate, Envoy, Messenger*; *ANGELUS*—*Messenger*, human and divine; *EPISCOPUS*—*Overseer, Superintendent*; *PRESBYTERUS*—*Senior, Elder*; *DIACONUS*—*Minister, Servitor*, might be, and actually *were*, employed, until they became so assigned; and how impossible it is, and must be, to ascertain the precise time in each particular Church when the indeterminate use of the names ceased, and the determinate use began. We shall not only admit—we shall strenuously maintain—that the terms *Episcopus* and *Presbyterus* are so far used synonymously that they *may*—and in some instances *must*—relate to the same Order of the Ministry; for otherwise we shall be in danger of falling into the opposite error to that of Presbytery—viz. the error of Irvingism or Drummondism, which holds Four Orders as essential to complete the Ministry of the Church, viz. *Apostles, Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons*. But, as between these two opposite opinions, what is the view which the Church from the beginning has always held? On the one hand, it has neither held the obligation of the continuance of the Apostolate, as superior to, and distinct from, a Prelatical Episcopate; nor, on the other hand, has it regarded the Apostolate as a temporary office which altogether 'fell away' and ceased,

¹ Compare *ARCHON, Ruler, Magistrate*, among the Greeks, and *IMPERATOR, General, Emperor*, among the Romans. See *Outlines*, pp. 151-154.

in order to make room for a government of Parity by Presbyters, which is the view of Presbyterians, and I regret to say also, as it would seem, of Dr. Lightfoot (p. 184); thus setting aside the distinct testimony of Firmilian, Bishop of Cappadocian Cæsarea, writing A.D. 250, and of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, writing A.D. 254; both of whom assert that Bishops succeeded the Apostles 'vicariâ ordinatione,' i.e. by an Ordination which placed them in the Apostles' room¹. He admits indeed that this system of Parity did not last; when 'arrived at its mature and normal state,' it has developed into Prelacy; but he speaks of it as being the first stage of that 'permanent Ministry which gradually emerged, as the Church assumed a more settled form, and the higher but temporary offices, such as the Apostolate, fell away.' (p. 184.) It is thus that he seems to undermine, if not actually to withdraw, 'the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets,' upon which the Church was built, so far as Episcopacy is concerned; and so, his result is, that at the close of the Apostolic age, whereas 'the two lower orders of the Ministry were firmly and widely established, traces of the third and highest order, the Episcopate properly so called, are few and indistinct': so few, indeed, and so indistinct, that *within that period*² no Bishop, except James at Jerusalem, of whom we have

¹ See *Outlines*, p. 104 sq.

² If 'the Apostolic age' and 'the period compassed by the Apostolic writings' are to be understood as commensurate. The death of S. John, A.D. 100, determines the former; but the doubt as to the date of the Apocalypse may render the latter less definite.

spoken, is to be found at all; 'Episcopacy still lies beyond the horizon.' (p. 196.)

Now certainly this is not the view which English Divines, under the teaching of the Fathers, have been accustomed to take hitherto; and *so far* Dean Stanley is quite correct and justified in pointing to Dr. Lightfoot's Essay as the commencement of a new era in the Anglican treatment of this question. They would have granted to Dr. Lightfoot that 'the functions of the Apostles and the (Prelatical) Bishops were *not* identical'; that they 'differed widely';—not so widely, however, but that the latter office was *substantially a continuation of the former*, so far as circumstances widely different (the founding and building up of Churches) admitted and required. They would not have allowed that the Prelatical Episcopate was 'a development from the subordinate office' (p. 194); if this is to mean that the subordinate office had ever the right or the possession of *supreme Government*, or of *Ordination*, or of *Confirmation*; nor admitted it in any other sense than that men were commonly Presbyters before they were made (Prelatical) Bishops, whether directly by the Apostles, or by other (Prelatical) Bishops whom some one or more of the Apostles had previously consecrated as such. And I cannot but think that the Scriptural proof is as clear to this effect, nay clearer, than it is to the 'firm and wide establishment of the two lower orders of the threefold Ministry' which Dr. Lightfoot allows (p. 193). Where, indeed, we may ask, are those two Orders seen without a Prelate to *ordain* them first, and to guide and *govern*

them afterwards? **NOWHERE!** Where are they ever found as self-sufficient for their own government, or their own propagation? **NOWHERE!**

NOT AT EPHESUS. There we have a body of Presbyters, duly ordained doubtless by S. Paul, but we nowhere read of their *ordaining others*, or of their *Episcopizing*—i. e. exercising superintendence over—*each other*, but only, as before observed, *ἐν ποιμνίῳ* (Acts xx. 28). And if as Presbyters they had been competent to do either of these things, then we desire to learn—and I venture to request Dr. Lightfoot's particular attention to this point—why Timothy—who, we know, had also been ordained¹ *by* (διὰ) S. Paul, and on one occasion at least *with* (*μετὰ*) the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery (which is the present Anglican usage in Ordination of Priests)—should have been appointed and directed, as he is (1 Tim. i. 3, iii. 1–14, v. 1, 17, 21, 22), to discharge the said functions, thus setting aside and overriding the authority of the Presbytery? To me it seems simply impossible to reconcile that fact with Dr. Lightfoot's view. It makes no difference whether Timothy's authority was to be permanent, or only temporary. The Presbytery, in full existence some five or six years before (Acts xx. 28), are *not* directed to ordain, and Timothy *is*. Dr. Lightfoot admits that during the *first stage* of organization in the Gentile congregations, 'the Apostles themselves were the Superintendents of each individual Church' (p. 197). Present or absent each kept the 'care of all the Churches'

¹ See 2 Tim. i. 6 and 1 Tim. iv. 14.

he had founded in his own hands. At this point it is desirable to quote in full Dr. Lightfoot's own words :

'But the wider spread of the Gospel would diminish the frequency of their visits and impair the efficiency of such supervision. In the *second stage* therefore we find them, at critical seasons and in important congregations, delegating some trustworthy disciple who should fix his abode in a given place for a time and direct the affairs of the Church there. The Pastoral Epistles present this second stage to our view. *It is the conception of a later age which represents Timothy as Bishop of Ephesus and Titus as Bishop of Crete.* S. Paul's own language implies that the position which they held was temporary. In both cases their term of office is drawing to a close when the Apostle writes.' (p. 179.)

In opposition to this view we may place that of a late Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, a very competent authority—I mean Dr. Shirley—who in an Essay which was published in the year before Dr. Lightfoot's (1867), but which perhaps had not come under his notice, wrote as follows :

'That the office committed to Timothy and to Titus was in fact *Episcopal in the full range of its power*, is beyond a serious question. It has, however, been contended that their commission differed essentially from that of the proper Bishop, in being only temporary. To Timothy it is intimated in the First Epistle (1 Tim. i. 3) that the only need for the Apostolic instructions depends on the chance of the Apostle's delayed return. In the second he is bidden to come to the Apostle himself,

leaving the Church of Ephesus (2 Tim. iv. 9, 21). And Titus in the same way is bidden, after setting in order the things which are wanting in Crete, to join the Apostle at Nicopolis (Tit. iii. 12). The objection in the case of Titus admits only of the answer that the injunction of S. Paul is utterly insufficient to support the conclusion which has thus been based upon it. The assumption, therefore, that the commission of Titus was temporary, is *one of pure conjecture, and without a known parallel in the whole history of the Church.* In the case of Timothy, the reply is yet more complete; for the Apostle bases the peculiar earnestness of his language upon the assurance which he possesses that the time of his own departure was at hand, and that Timothy would have to meet, without the aid of the Apostle, the perils of a time when men would not endure sound doctrine, or the discipline of an ordered ministry (2 Tim. iv. 1-6). The work of Timothy, therefore, was *not to end with his winter's visit to S. Paul*; it was to be renewed with even greater earnestness when S. Paul was removed by death¹.

In the case of S. James at Jerusalem, I had occasion to remark that Dr. Lightfoot appeared to discard 'History,' though he had himself spoken of it as 'the sole upright impartial referee.' And he does the same in the case of Timothy. When he rejects his Episcopate of Ephesus 'as the conception of a later age,' he refers in a note to 'Const. Apost. vii. 46, Euseb. H.E. iii. 4, and later writers,' who all assert it. These writers include

¹ See *Some Account of the Church in the Apostolic Age*, p. 116 sq.

Jerome, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Hilary the Deacon, and others. I forbear to quote them. But there is one piece of historical evidence bearing upon the point which, whether known or not to Dr. Lightfoot, he will, I am sure, admit to be of some interest, if not, as it seems to me, of conclusive authority, and as such worthy to be produced. It is this. Among the acts of the fourth General Council held at Chalcedon in A.D. 451, it is recorded that a dispute having arisen as to the right of consecrating a Bishop to the See of Ephesus, then vacant, whether it might be exercised by that present Council, or whether it properly appertained to the Provincial Synod of Asia, one of the speakers in the debate, Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia, stated as a fact that 'from holy Timothy to their own time there had been twenty-seven Bishops of that See, and that all of them had been consecrated in Ephesus itself'¹. So that the Episcopal succession had been kept up there from Timothy downwards, just as from James downwards it was kept up at Jerusalem.

But, after all, the question whether Timothy's Episcopate was temporary or permanent is of no great importance. We are in search of a Presbytery with powers to *ordain* and to *govern*, and so far we have not found one. On the contrary, what we have found is a Prelacy, with powers to do both. And so Dr. Lightfoot, though he had certainly led us to expect a Presbytery, himself finds. After the passage last quoted from his *Essay*, he proceeds :

¹ See Labbe, *Conc.* vol. iv. p. 700. And comp. *Outlines*, p. 54.

‘But the conception [which represents Timothy as Bishop of Ephesus] is not altogether without foundation. With less permanence, but perhaps greater authority, the position occupied by these Apostolic delegates nevertheless fairly represents the functions of the bishop early in the second century. They were in fact the link between the Apostle whose superintendence was occasional and general, and the bishop who exercised a permanent supervision over an individual congregation.’ (p. 197.) We must not, however, make too much of this admission; for two pages afterwards we read equally to our disappointment and surprise, ‘As late as the year 70’—the date of the Pastoral Epistles being 65–67—‘*no distinct signs of Episcopal government have hitherto appeared in Gentile Christendom.*’

But we are not yet beyond the notices of the Apostolic writings, and we have not yet taken leave of Ephesus. There is the Revelation of S. John to be considered, in which the Church of Ephesus reappears (c. ii. 1–7) as one of the Seven Churches—after how long an interval, whether of three, ten, twenty, or thirty years, we cannot positively say, because the date of the writing of that Book is much disputed. Dr. Lightfoot, as we shall presently discover, is in favour of the earlier date. But in any case we are as much at a loss as before to find any symptoms of Presbytery. What we do find is ‘an Angel’ of each Church. Dr. Lightfoot will not allow us to understand a Bishop under this designation. He sees in it either ‘the celestial guardian, or only a personification—the idea or spirit—of the Church.’ And one, and appa-

rently the conclusive, reason for his adopting this interpretation cannot fail to add to the surprise and disappointment we before felt. Assuming the very shortest possible interval, 'probably not more than two or three years'—others would say more probably thirty¹—between the Pastoral Epistles and the Book of Revelation, and assuming further (we have seen upon what insufficient grounds) that no distinct traces of Episcopal Government had appeared in the former, he holds it to be 'scarcely possible that the Episcopal organization could have been so mature,' as the other interpretation of the name 'Angel' would imply, when the latter Book was written. The interval supposed 'would,' he thinks, 'be quite insufficient to account for so great a change in the administration of the Asiatic Churches' (p. 198 sq.). What then in fact would be 'the great change' which we are forbidden to consider possible? Let Timothy have become permanent Bishop, if not before, after S. Paul's death; or let Timothy be dead, and a permanent Bishop, ordained by him as *Coadjutor cum jure successionis*, or

¹ The Bishop of Lincoln and the late Dean Alford, who belong to very different schools of biblical criticism, both take the side opposed to Dr. Lightfoot's assumption, and both speak very positively. The former writes: 'The received opinion of antient Christendom will not easily be disturbed by that spirit of scepticism which has unhappily shown itself in some quarters in recent times. . . . We may therefore hold fast the belief that the Book of Revelation was written at the close of the reign of Domitian, who died A.D. 96.' (p. 154.) The opinion of the latter is thus stated: 'I have no hesitation in believing with the antient Fathers, and most competent witnesses, that the Apocalypse was written about the year 95 or 96 A.D.' (p. 236.)

ordained by S. John or some other Apostle, or by a Bishop such as Titus, have succeeded in his room, with the same powers to ordain and to govern; let this be supposed, and not only all impossibility, but all improbability disappears. And as regards the comparative merits of the two interpretations upon other grounds, as before I opposed to Dr. Lightfoot the authority of Professor Shirley, so I must now confront him with the authority of a Divine of a still higher class—I mean Archbishop Trench—who, after thoroughly sifting the different senses put upon the Title of the ‘Angels,’ to whom S. John was to write, from every point of view, draws the following conclusion:

‘I again repeat my conviction that in these “Angels” we are to recognize the Bishops of the several Churches¹.’

So much for the Church of EPHESUS. And if in that Church we have found no single symptom of government by a Presbytery, so neither shall we find one in any of the other Churches of Lesser Asia. That on their first missionary progress, in Pisidia and Pamphylia, Paul and Barnabas, before they returned to Antioch, had ordained Elders in every Church, we read in Acts xiv. 23, and we naturally infer with Dr. Lightfoot (p. 191) that Paul did the same, as occasion required, and competent candidates could be found, on his subsequent and more extensive progresses; but *nowhere do we read that he gave them*

¹ See *Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches*, p. 58. The name ANGELUS, a *messenger*, or *newsbearer*, is closely similar in its original signification to that of APOSTOLUS, and it forms a very suitable intermediate term, or name of transition between APOSTOLUS and EPISCOPUS.

power to superintend each other, or to ordain other Presbyters. In the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Colossians, no more than in the Epistles to the Ephesians, is there to be discovered the slightest hint to that effect ; and further, while on the one hand we find this power exercised by Paul, and then devolved by him upon Timothy, on the other hand we have, in the Apocalypse, six other Churches besides Ephesus each under the charge of its respective 'Angel,' who, to say the very least, is far less likely to represent a distinct Presbytery than an individual Prelate, who had been ordained by S. Paul, or by S. John himself.

And I rejoice to say that in this conclusion again I have Dr. Lightfoot eventually with me far more than I had been led to expect. It is true that at p. 199, summing up the evidence not only of S. Paul but, in virtue of the very early date assigned to the Apocalypse, of S. John also, he had, as we have already seen, given us to understand that 'as late as the year 70 no distinct signs of Episcopal Government have hitherto appeared in Gentile Christendom.' Nevertheless, ten pages further on (viz. at p. 209), he writes, speaking of Asia Minor : 'Here we find the widest and most unequivocal traces of Episcopacy at an early date.' And again (p. 212), 'the evidence for the *early and wide* extension of Episcopacy *throughout* Proconsular Asia, the scene of S. John's latest labours, may be considered irrefragable ;' while of Presbytery we have found throughout, and still find, no trace at all. And is the case really altered in this last respect when, with S. Paul on his second Apo-

stolic journey, we have passed over into Europe? In the years that follow, during which he wrote his Epistles to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, is there to be found, either in those Epistles or in S. Luke's narrative of the Apostles' Acts, any evidence of *supreme and independent Government*, or of *Ordination*, by a Presbytery? **NONE WHATEVER.** On the one hand, we have in the Epistle to the Philippians (i. 1) the terms, still probably more or less indeterminate, of *Episcopi*¹, *Overseers*, and *Diaconi*, *Ministers*²; and, on the other hand, we have in the second Epistle to the Corinthians (xi. 28) the distinct assertion that 'the care of all the

¹ Dr. Lightfoot however writes: 'In the Philippian Church (i. 1) the Deacons take their rank after the Presbyters, *the two orders together constituting the recognised ministry of the Christian Society there.*' (p. 189.) Nevertheless, be it remembered, S. Paul himself was, to all intents and purposes, their Apostolic Bishop; and there is no evidence of an independent Presbytery.

² Compare the 1st Ep. of Clement, cc. 42 and 44, where the same terms are used apparently in the same way. On the date of that Epistle, see below, p. 47. I may mention, as an indication of the indistinctness which still lingered about the terms of the Clerical Nomenclature, even so late as the latter half of the second century, that Pothinus (the predecessor of S. Irenæus) is represented as 'having been intrusted with the *Diaconia* of the *Episcopè* at Lyons,' in that most interesting document of Christian antiquity which describes the sufferings of the martyrs in Gaul under the persecution of Antoninus Verus (see Euseb. lib. v. c. 1). We have only to speak of the "Diaconate," or "Deaconship of the Episcopate," in order to see at once that it requires some effort of the mind to disabuse ourselves of the false impression which we may receive when, without consideration of circumstances, we interpret too closely the occasional phraseology of the *first*, or even of the *second*, century, by the settled uniform phraseology of the *nineteenth* century.'

Churches came daily upon' the Apostle himself, as their Prelatical¹ Overseer ; an assertion which is confirmed by the way in which his order for the treatment of the incestuous member of the Corinthian Church was given and obeyed. (See Dr. Lightfoot, p. 196.)

In every case where guides or rulers of the flock are mentioned, there is the same evidence of Rulers over them, as in Acts xx. 28. In 1 Thess. v. 12, Rom. xii. 8, it is S. Paul who rules. In 1 Peter v. 2, it is S. Peter ; in 1 Tim. v. 17, it is Timothy ; in Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24, it is the Apostolic writer of that Epistle. But we have no evidence whatever that in any of these instances the *ἐπισκοπή*, the *προστασία*, the *ἱγεινοία*, to be exercised by the Presbyters consisted in a power to *ordain* or to *rule each other*. And every Bishop at the present day, when he institutes a Presbyter to a particular charge, knows what it is to tell him not only to 'labour in the word and doctrine,' but to guide and 'preside' well and zealously ; and also to tell the Congregation to 'know and obey him that is over them in the Lord, and admonishes them, and to esteem him very highly in love for his works' sake.'

During the interval of thirty years from the deaths of S. Paul and S. Peter to that of S. John at the end of the century, the dearth of sufficient evidence to enable us to trace with any degree of distinctness the settlement and upgrowth of the European and African Churches is admitted on all hands (Dr. Lightfoot, p. 203 sq.); and it is only by the reflected lights of what

¹ Professor Blunt, *Hist.* p. 80 sq., is of opinion that Epaphroditus already bore that office in the Church at Philippi, from Phil. ii. 25.

we find, and what Dr. Lightfoot himself finds, actually in existence *at the close of that period*, combined with the assurance that the *Ascended Founder* of the Church was watching over its progress, and that the *Descended Comforter* was guiding it so that it might attain the form and order designed for it—it is only thus that we can hope to attain any trustworthy notion of the course pursued. We cannot lay too much stress upon the fact that after their dispersion from Jerusalem, *circ. A.D. 44*, we have no scriptural record of the acts of *any* of the original Apostles (except that some, or all, of them were present at the Council, *Acts xv. circ. A.D. 49*), but only of Paul and Barnabas; and that the record to be gleaned from all uninspired sources put together amounts only to a few very scanty and fragmentary memorials, mostly preserved in Eusebius.

Let us then take the words of S. Athanasius in his Epistle to Dracontius, where, speaking of the Constitution of the Churches, and more especially of the Episcopate to which Dracontius had been chosen, but from which he shrank through fear of persecution, he reminds him that 'matters of that kind had been determined by the Saviour Himself,' and that 'the model which the Lord fashioned by his Apostles remaineth ever good and firm'¹. Let us, I say, use those words as the key to the problem we have to unlock. Now, whether we look to the

¹ S. Athan. *Op.* vol. i. p. 264 sq. I do not forget that Jerome has a passage which appears to contradict this. See Dr. Lightfoot, p. 228, and compare my *Outlines*, p. 168 sq. On the other hand, we have the words of S. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, c. 3 :

Churches of the greater cities, such as ROME or ALEXANDRIA, or of the smaller, such as CORINTH or PHILIPPI, the issue is the same. However slow the progress, and however formidable the impediments in the way of arriving at the ultimate settlement by which the ecclesiastical edifice was to receive its coping-stone in the Gentile Churches, the same settlement was arrived at—and arrived at, we may suppose, through the same means. To take first the two places that I last named, viz. CORINTH and PHILIPPI, which are supposed to present peculiar difficulties. Let it be allowed that when Clement wrote to the former, and Polycarp to the latter, both those Churches were still in an unsettled state, still not fully organized, or at least were unsettled *within*, and required help and guidance from *without*, at that particular time. We cannot tell the precise date of either letter. That of Polycarp appears from internal evidence to have been written within a year or two after the martyrdom of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, A.D. 116. That of Clement may have been written nearly fifty¹ years—Dr. Lightfoot (pp. 116, 213, 216) would place it about twenty or twenty-five years—earlier. It is certain, however, that the writers of both were Bishops, and made Bishops before the end of the century. Does any one believe that either was

'The Bishops'—and what Ignatius means by the name is unquestionable—'The Bishops, settled at the utmost bounds [of the earth], are by the will of Jesus Christ'; or, as Dr. Lightfoot renders the words, p. 234: 'are in the counsels of Jesus Christ.' See below, p. 51.

¹ Among the scholars who favour the early date, *circ. 68-70*, may be named Grabe, Dodwell, Wake, Pagi, Fleury, Galland, Hefele. Bishop Pearson places it *long before* the death of S. John.

ordained by a Presbytery, and not directly or indirectly by one of the Apostles? Tertullian tells us expressly that S. Peter ordained Clement Bishop of Rome; and Irenæus, as quoted by Eusebius, tells us no less expressly that S. John ordained Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, one of the seven Apocalyptic Churches¹. There must have been some reason in the existing state of things which rendered it fit and proper for Clement, as Bishop of Rome (as he probably then was—for he writes, according to Jerome, Cat. 15, ‘ex personâ Ecclesiae Romanae,’ and as he *must have been*, if Tertullian’s statement is correct) to address such a letter to the Corinthian Church, and for Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, to address such a letter to the Philippian Church, then apparently without a Bishop of their own—a reason not consistent with the notion that either of those Apostolic men was taking an obtrusive part², or that *Prelatical superintendence was not already recognized generally throughout the Gentile Churches*. And to this we have to add that a passage of Tertullian (*De Praescript.* c. 36) records the early existence of such an Episcopate both at Corinth and at Philippi, which he traces directly in both cases to the *Apostles themselves*³. Dr. Lightfoot (p. 213) concludes from Polycarp’s letter ‘that Episcopacy did not exist at all among the Philippians at this time, or existed

¹ See Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. ii. p. 399, and p. 401.

² Polycarp had been asked to write to them; see c. 3.

³ See also, for Corinth, the testimony of Hegesippus in Euseb. iv. 22. Dr. Lightfoot (p. 213) scruples at the passage of Tertullian; but (p. 214) fully accepts that of Hegesippus.

only in an elementary form, so that *the Bishop was a mere President of the Presbyteral Council.* What evidence is there for this latter notion, either in Scripture or in antiquity? None whatever. And when Dr. Lightfoot (at p. 222) speaks of 'the mild and peaceful counsels of the *Presbyter Bishop, Clement,*' he seems to me to be simply indulging a fancy of his own.

It is easy for any of us, at the present day, to ask, why was not the appointment of a Bishop at once recommended in those letters to set matters right at Corinth and at Philippi; and why did not Clement, why did not Polycarp, offer to ordain one? And it is no less easy to rejoin—why did not the Presbytery, whose existence cannot be doubted at either place, if competent to govern by themselves, suffice to keep things in good order, *without Episcopal intervention from another Church?* But, besides that the Providence of God could well afford to bide His time in the accomplishment of His own designs, which of us is able to tell, or to conceive, what the acceptance of the Prelatical Office would involve in those early days—what utter self-abandonment and renunciation of all pre-existing ties and associations, what uncertainty even as to the necessary means of subsistence; and how difficult it would be either to find a person altogether suitable for the office¹, or, when found, to induce him to undertake it. Consider what even S. Paul had to undergo *from without* at Philippi, *from within* at Corinth. Any one who reads the letter of S. Athanasius, which I just now referred to, will see

¹ See *Outlines*, p. 145.

what formidable obstacles and temptations existed, even so late as the 4th century, to incline even a good man, and one highly qualified for the Episcopate, as Dracontius appears to have been, to endeavour to evade it; and who does not remember the shifts and artifices to which John Chrysostom had recourse in order to escape Ordination, as it would appear¹, even to the Priesthood?

But to pass from the Gentile Churches of the smaller cities to those of the larger, such as ROME and ALEXANDRIA and ANTIOCH.

It cannot be supposed for a moment that a scholar like Mr. Fynes Clinton, one of the highest possible character in all respects, thoroughly qualified to expose the weak points of History and Chronology, sacred and profane, and a Layman, but certainly not of the High Church School²,—it cannot be supposed that such an one would have allowed himself to throw dust in the eyes of his readers in regard to the early Episcopal successions in those cities, any more than in regard to the times and successions of the Athenian Archons, or of the Roman Consuls and Emperors. And what then has he taught his readers to believe? He would not suffer them to doubt that a *bonâ fide* Episcopal succession had commenced *in each of those cities* before A.D. 70³. And it is strictly in accordance with that representation that S. Ignatius

¹ See his Treatise *De Sacerdotio*.

² See his remarks, *Fast. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 521.

³ See *Ibid.* p. 535, and *Outlines*, p. 105. Compare Dr. Lightfoot for Rome, pp. 215–222; for Alexandria, pp. 223–230; for Antioch, p. 208 sq.

assures us that when he wrote to the Ephesians, 'Bishops [were] established in the farthest parts [of the world]—*Shorter Greek version*, c. 3¹.

At this point, as before, in regard to the Episcopate of James at Jerusalem, we are constrained to notice that it is not easy altogether to reconcile with each other the various statements made by Dr. Lightfoot. At one place (p. 193) he tells us: 'It is clear that at the close of the Apostolic age, traces of the third and highest order of the Threefold Ministry, the Episcopate, properly so called, are few and indistinct.' And again (p. 196), speaking of the government of the Gentile Churches as represented in the New Testament, 'Episcopacy, in its definite form, still lies beyond the horizon.' Yet, in p. 199, he writes: 'Unless we have recourse to a sweeping condemnation of received documents, it seems vain to deny that *early in the second century the Episcopal Office was FIRMLY and WIDELY established. Thus, during the last three decades of the first century, and consequently during the lifetime*

¹ See Dr. Lightfoot, p. 234. In regard to the Ignatian Epistles, though unreasonably sceptical in my opinion, yet he writes: 'I agree with Lipsius that the Epistles of the short Greek recension *cannot date later than the middle of the second century*; and if so, they will still hold their place among the most important of early Christian documents.' (p. 232 note. Comp. p. 210.) At p. 208 he had written: 'It seems impossible to decide the exact date of the Epistles of S. Ignatius; but we cannot do wrong in placing them *during the earliest years of the second century*.' Respecting the Clementine writings, full as they likewise are of Episcopacy, Dr. Lightfoot states, p. 209: 'The Homilies cannot well be placed later than the end, and *should perhaps be placed towards the beginning of the second century*'.

of the latest surviving Apostle this change'—rather, I should say, this divinely purposed consummation—‘*must have been brought about.*’ Again (p. 232): ‘It has been seen that the institution of the Episcopate must be placed *as far back as the closing years of the first century*¹;’—yes, and if we include the Episcopate of James at Jerusalem, *fifty or sixty years earlier*—‘and that it cannot without violence to historical testimony be dissevered from the name of *S. John*’—nor, I must add, of *S. Peter and S. Paul*, and especially if the Episcopate of S. James is to be taken into account, of *all the Apostles*² and of *our Lord Himself*. Again, at p. 205 we read: ‘During the historical blank which extends over half a century after the fall of Jerusalem (170–220), *Episcopacy was matured and the Catholic Church consolidated*.’ And once more, at p. 225: ‘Episcopacy is so inseparably interwoven with all the traditions and beliefs of men, like Irenæus and Tertullian, that they betray *no knowledge of a time when it was not*.’

As the object of these Remarks has been to shew that the requirement of subscription to the Presbyterian formula for Ordination is not justified by a full and fair

¹ When we speak of the first century in this discussion, be it remembered that it was not till half that century had elapsed that S. Paul first crossed over into Europe, viz. A.D. 50; and that his life was prolonged only fifteen or sixteen years beyond that time, viz. to A.D. 65 or 66. His missionary labours in Asia Minor had commenced five years earlier, viz. A.D. 45.

² See above, p. 19 sq., and with reference also to the Gentile Churches, the statements of Irenæus, i. 24; iii. 3; iv. 33 (*Outlines*, p. 98 sq.) and Tertullian, *De Praescript.* c. xxxii. (*Outlines*, p. 102).

interpretation of the New Testament evidence, and that any attempt to support it by the authority of Dr. Lightfoot's *Essay* must be made with imperfect knowledge of the teaching of that *Essay taken as a whole*, I need not pursue the investigation further. Whatever apparent difficulties there may be, arising out of isolated passages of some few of the early Fathers, in the way of the acceptance of the scheme of the Threefold Ministry, have been fully noticed in a volume which I published upon the subject some years ago¹; and to that I must refer the reader. He will there find, I trust, sufficient satisfaction upon all the points raised by Dr. Lightfoot in the subsequent portion of his *Essay*; such as *the occasionally indistinct and comprehensive use of the name 'Presbyter'*² by Irenæus (see p. 97), and by Clement of Alexandria (see p. 115 sq.), as in the New Testament by S. Peter and S. John (see pp. 72, 191 sq.), and of ὁ προεστὸς by Justin Martyr (see p. 162 sq.); *the wild theory of an early but short-lived form of Presbyterian government*, first broached *towards the end of the fourth century* by the learned but inconsistent Jerome (see pp. 164-187), and by the equally inconsistent Hilary who became a Luciferian schismatic, (see pp. 188-190); and originating with them and taken up *500 years later* by Eutychius the Alexandrian Patriarch, *the very doubtful story of 'the curious fact,' that at Alexandria, up to the year 318 A.D., a college of twelve Presbyters, appointed by S. Mark, continued to ordain their*

¹ See *Outlines of the Christian Ministry*. London, Longmans, 1872.

² Compare the use of the name 'Priests' in the Old Testament to include High Priest and Priests. See *Outlines*, p. 13 note, 157 sq.

own Bishop, the Patriarch of that city (see pp. 178, 180, and 197-203). In regard to this last point, I have shewn above that so far as the evidence of the New Testament goes, Presbyters had no substantive power to ordain at all¹; much less can we believe that they had power given them by S. Mark to ordain their own Superior; and the so-called Apostolical Canons, and the Canons of the first Ecumenical Council, A.D. 325 (both of which assume the *Three Orders* as the invariable basis of the Church's Ministry, and *Ordination* as the inseparable prerogative of the first Order), concur in excluding all likelihood of the notion that any material deviation from the Scriptural and Apostolical constitution of the Threefold Ministry, inclusive of *Ordination* by the first Order only, *had up to that time ever occurred in Christendom*. (See *Outlines*, pp. 108, 118-120.) Had there been any such notable exception as is pretended at Alexandria, the second see in the Catholic Church, some notice must have been taken of it by the early writers of Ecclesiastical History, or in some Canon of a Provincial or Ecumenical Council: it could not have been left for a mediaeval chronicler of the tenth century to be the first² to place upon record the facts on which Dean Stanley's statement is founded when he writes, 'That even down to the fourth century Presbyters as well as Bishops possessed the power of... consecrating Bishops.'

¹ On the extraordinary ordination of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, see *Outlines*, p. 215.

² I say 'the first' because the text of Hilary is uncertain, and the passage of Jerome, which refers to the peculiar practice at Alexandria, expressly denies to Presbyters the power of *Ordination*.

His article in *Macmillan* confines this general statement to Alexandria, the single place to which there is even so much as a shadow of ground for applying it. In short, we still abide by the statement of Hooker—‘No man is able to shew either Deacon or Presbyter ordained by Presbyters, and his Ordination accounted lawful *in any* ancient part of the Church¹.’ And in this we have Dr. Lightfoot with us, so far at least that he writes, p. 231, ‘As a general rule even those writers [among the Fathers] who maintain a substantial identity in the offices of Bishop and Presbyter’—(does *any* ancient writer maintain this *in any* place, who does not *elsewhere* contradict himself?)—‘reserve the power of ordaining to the former.’ (p. 231.)

And now to return to the long extract from Dean Stanley’s Sermon which I quoted at the beginning, and which has mainly given occasion for these *Remarks*.

We there find that ‘in the celebrated Essay attached to his edition of S. Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians, Dr. Lightfoot has, with his characteristic moderation and erudition, proved beyond dispute’ *five* points more or less at variance with what ‘used to be the prevailing belief of English Divines’; and if we take also into account the Dean’s more recent article in *Macmillan’s Magazine*, we must add a *sixth* point, for which Dr. Lightfoot is also made sponsor. The six points are as follow:

1. ‘That the early constitution of the Apostolic Churches of the first century was not that of a single

¹ See bk. vii. c. vi. sect. 5.

Pastor, but of a body of Pastors, indifferently styled *Bishops* or *Presbyters*.'

2. 'That it was not till the very end of the Apostolic Age that the Office which we now call the Episcopate gradually and slowly made its way in the Churches of Asia Minor.'

3. 'That Presbytery was not a later growth out of Episcopacy, but that Episcopacy was a later growth out of Presbytery.'

4. 'That the Office'—qy. constitution—'which the Apostles adopted, was a rule not of Bishops, but of Presbyters.'

5. 'That, even down to the fourth century, Presbyters as well as Bishops possessed the power of nominating and consecrating Bishops.'

6. 'That all the Bishops of the second century must have been created by Presbyters of the first century, and this usage continued in Alexandria down to the fourth century.'

It is plain, I fear, that my friend the Dean must look at these matters with the eyes of a Presbyter, and that I must look at them with the eyes of a Bishop; for of these six points, *all* of which *he* considers 'proved beyond dispute,' *not one* is proved to *my* satisfaction, in the way and to the extent in which he states it. Whether or no Dr. Lightfoot himself will consider that they represent upon the whole, with sufficient accuracy, the conclusions intended to be drawn from his *Essay*, it is not of course for me to say. He may think that they exhibit the results of his investigation fairly; or he may think that they do

what he deprecated at the outset—‘crudely and hastily apply’ them. (p. 179.) For my own part, if I have not already given sufficient reason for withholding my assent from each and all of the aforesaid points—or at least indicated sufficiently where such reason is to be found—I can scarcely expect to improve my cause by continuing to discuss them here at greater length. But in the extract I have quoted, the Dean, still in relation to the same general subject, proceeds to express one or two views of his own, upon which it is desirable that I should also add a few words.

First, then, it appears that the Dean’s medium of vision is not only that of the sturdy Presbyter, but of the lordly Abbot, of the accomplished Antiquary, and even of the ex-Professor of a great University. ‘There were,’ he says, ‘from the commencement of the *Middle Ages*, even continuing in part to our own times, *large exceptions* from the principle of Episcopal Government which can be called by no other name than Presbyterian. The **ABBOTS** throughout Europe were for the most part as entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of Bishops as if they had lived in the Presbyterian regimen of the first century at Corinth, or the eighteenth in Scotland. Those **Abbots**, with all their dependents; the **GREAT UNIVERSITIES**, with all their Ecclesiastics,—were all *fragments of Presbyterianism imbedded in the midst of the Episcopate*. In Scotland, as is well known, the *Abbatial* or *Presbyterian* system, although not excluding the Institution of Bishops for the sake of *purely ministerial functions*, was predominant from the time of Columba until the introduction of the

Anglo-Norman hierarchy by Queen Margaret.' Among the Dean's great and various intellectual gifts there is none greater or more dazzling than his power of generalization ; but, as logicians warn us, *Dolus latet in generalibus*. And I know of no writer whose readers have more frequent need to bear this warning in mind. The Dean appears to represent 'Abbatial' and 'Presbyterian' as synonymous. But how would the Abbot of Westminster like that the tenure of his office should be *only for a year*, or that his Canons and Minor Officials should claim a *parity* in his rights and privileges ? The Abbot was a *real* and *permanent* Principal ; and so, of course, are the Principals of Colleges in our great Universities, Scotch as well as English. And then there is the further confusion between Clerics *Secular* and Clerics *Regular*—institutions widely different in their scope and design, and of which the latter did not exist in the early Church. I need scarcely say it is no concern of ours to defend the eccentricities of 'the Middle Ages,' most of which have been long abandoned by us, and those that remain may be at least excused. For example : however some may be inclined to look upon Deans of Westminster as splendid anomalies and manifest relics of a Reformation not *quite* complete ; and however some may suspect that Dean Stanley would not be sorry to see Episcopacy *decease* in Scotland ; not one of us, I am sure, would wish to see Presbyterianism, *pure and simple*, introduced at Westminster, so long as the Abbots are the creatures of Episcopal Ordination, and do not presume to *give what they have not received* ; and I may add, so long as they prove

themselves—like the present amiable dignitary—conspicuous examples of an untiring and universal benevolence, equal to that of the very best and most princely of their predecessors in the olden time.

But I have not quite done with the Dean's reference to 'the Middle Ages.' And here I must turn again to Dr. Lightfoot's *Essay*. Arguing (at p. 228) in favour of 'a substantial identity of Order between Bishops and Presbyters,' he writes: 'Nor does it appear that this view was ever questioned until the era of the Reformation. In the Western Church, at all events, it carried the sanction of the highest ecclesiastical authorities, and *was maintained even by Popes and Councils*.' No doubt it was, and for the best of reasons, at least in the eyes of Popes themselves; so that Dr. Lightfoot's 'even' appears to me to savour of a simplicity less vigilant and discerning than he usually shews; and Giesler, the Church Historian, has fallen into the same error. Upon this point I may venture to repeat opinions which I have expressed elsewhere¹. In tracing the causes which led to Papal Supremacy, I had occasion to speak of a development of the threefold Ministry which practically destroyed its divine symmetry, and introduced a power utterly inconsistent with the teaching of Scripture, and with the testimony and example of the Church during the Apostolic and post-Apostolic age. And how was this power to be maintained? It was to be maintained partly by denying, partly by undermining, the legitimate authority of the

¹ See *Outlines*, pp. 130-133.

highest Order of the threefold Ministry—that is, of the Bishops, as each and all equally successors of the Apostles ; and then by obtruding the Pope alone into their place. And this was done. Contrary to the prevailing sentiment of the primitive Church, first, the Schoolmen, in the Pope's interest, invented a distinction whereby, though they allowed Bishops to be superior to Presbyters in power and jurisdiction, they made them to be both *of one and the same order*. In this they were followed by the Jesuits ; and to the present day, though the Church of Rome reckons altogether seven Orders in the Ministry—four of them being inferior and only semi-clerical—the *Episcopal Order is not one of them*, but is regarded as merged in that of Presbyters, while the Pope sits alone, *extraordinary*, and supreme above them all. Acting upon the new notion of the Schoolmen, and calculating that whatever tended to depress the Episcopate would elevate themselves, the Popes did not scruple to give dispensations whereby Presbyters were authorized, on occasions, to perform Episcopal acts. And worse than this : not only did they encourage throughout Christendom the institution of rich and powerful monastic bodies, which they set free from Episcopal jurisdiction by making their establishments extra-diocesan ; but they took upon themselves to appoint legates or vicars, by whom their own supreme authority was to be represented and enforced in other countries beyond Italy. In this manner, when Episcopacy had been depreciated to serve the interests of the Papacy, and when its rights and position as a distinct Order in the Ministry had become obscured and confounded with those

of the Presbyterate, the way was prepared for the downward course which followed naturally upon the overthrow of the papal usurpation,—a downward course which, in this and other Protestant countries, has been going on from the time of the Reformation to the present day.

Hence it is that our most learned Divines who have written upon this subject have not failed to point out that the true original of Presbytery is to be traced directly, not to Scripture but to Popery.

Thus Bishop Jeremy Taylor: ‘I shall say one thing more, which is indeed a great truth, that the diminution of Episcopacy was first introduced by popery, and the popes of Rome, by communicating to abbots and other mere priests special graces to exercise some essential offices of Episcopacy, have made this sacred Order cheap and *apt to be invaded.*’ (Works, vol. vi. p. 809.)

And thus Archbishop Bramhall: ‘Though the Popes do not abolish the Order of Bishops, or Episcopacy, in the abstract, yet they limit the power of bishops, in the concrete, at their pleasure, by exemptions and reservations.’ (Works, vol. i. p. 252.)

And thus Bishop Pearson: ‘Nothing is more certain than that all diminution of the rights of Episcopacy had its source in the papal usurpation.’ (M. W. vol. i. p. 274.)

And thus Charles Leslie: ‘Whosoever would write the true history of Presbyterianism, must begin at Rome and not at Geneva.’ (Works, vol. vii. p. 127.)

And with regard to the pretended distinction between *Order* and *Degree*, whereby the Schoolmen endeavoured to prove that though there were *three Degrees* in the ministry,

there were only *two Orders*, Bishop Andrewes has shewn that this distinction has no foundation in Scripture or in the Fathers¹. And the same is more fully demonstrated by Bingham², although he mentions that some of our earlier divines, e. g. Mason and Ussher—he might have added Hooker—had in their controversial treatises been content to fall in with the terminology received from the Schoolmen.

How far our Presbyterian friends at Glasgow may have been pleased with Dean Stanley for connecting their system not only with Scripture but with ‘the Middle Ages,’ I cannot, of course, pretend to say; but when their champion proceeded in the same passage to remind them that this same system, ‘because primitive, was rude, undeveloped, and incomplete,’ and consequently that a return to it on their parts was neither more nor less than an anachronism—a mistake, they must have looked, I should imagine, somewhat askance; and still more when he virtually gave them to understand that Presbyterianism, though *not good enough for others, might suffice for them*; and that it had its value, if not in itself, for ‘it was liable to great abuses and excesses,’ yet, ‘in the standing protest which it presented, and the kind of equipoise which it furnished against the prevailing and preponderating systems of other countries.’ In justification of this peculiar view, so little complimentary to his Scottish hearers, he

¹ See *Op. Posth.*, p. 183, and comp. Bishop Pearson, *Vind. Ign.*, p. 279.

² See bk. ii. c. 1, § 1; c. 19, § 15; and *French Church's Apol.*, bk. iv. c. 5. § 3.

suggests to them the reflexion that some examples of aristocratic or republican governments are useful in the world, as ‘serving at once to remind the proudest and most beneficent sovereigns that they are not absolutely indispensable, and that *some part* at least of their duties can be performed by *inferior and less perfectly developed* constitutions.’ And so here we have at last the Dean giving in his adhesion, indirectly at least, to the common judgment of Anglican divines, that Presbyterianism is ‘an inferior and less perfectly constituted’ form of Church administration. And with regard to the ‘protest’ spoken of above, and supposed to be directed in part ‘against the opinion that Episcopacy is the only channel by which Christianity can be communicated to mankind,’ I confess I know of little or no occasion for it. My own conviction, as expressed in *Outlines*, pref. p. ix and p. 104, is utterly averse to any such opinion. And yet I should be very unwilling to countenance the inference, which the Dean’s illustration is calculated to suggest, viz. that nothing more is to be said in favour of the expediency and the duty of maintaining *one and the same form* of ministry and government in the Church instituted by Christ Himself, than in States, which, as S. Peter teaches, ‘are the creation of man¹.’ What man has created, man may change at his own discretion: but it is only God who can change what He Himself has ordained.

I cannot part with the good Abbot of Westminster

¹ See 1 Pet. ii. 13, and comp. Bishop Andrewes’ *Devotions*, First Day, Intercession; and Bishop Sanderson, vol. ii. p. 97 sq. On the common fallacy referred to in the text, see *Outlines*, p. 18.

without expressing some feeling of regret that, notwithstanding his zeal for the truth whole and entire, he did not think it necessary to refer to the *absence of Confirmation*¹, or of the *non-observance of the great Festivals of the Church*, in the Presbyterian system. Neither did he bring to the knowledge of his Presbyterian hearers what 'the most learned of all the living Bishops of England' has said in regard to one portion—a portion so important that it has given its name to the whole—of that system which every ordained minister solemnly asserts 'to be founded upon the word of God and agreeable thereto,' and no less solemnly promises to 'submit to, concur with, &c., and to the utmost of his power to maintain, support and defend during all the days of his life'; and every ordained lay elder likewise promises 'to submit thereto, to concur with, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof.' Dr. Lightfoot's words (p. 193 note) are these: 'The distinction of Lay or *Ruling Elders*, and Ministers proper, or *teaching Elders*, was laid

¹ 'Concerning Confirmation—seeing Episcopacy is condemned, Imposition of Hands by Bishops falleth to the ground.' Such was the *curt*, and, it must be added, *profane* resolution of the famous General Assembly held at Glasgow, 1638. Preaching in the same city, Dean Stanley would have done well to rebuke the act which has ever since deprived, and still deprives, the Presbyterian youth of both sexes of the benefits of that Apostolic ordinance. Nevertheless Confirmation has not 'fallen to the ground,' and never will so long as the Church Militant and the world endure. The distinct testimonies from two such opposite quarters as S. Cyprian and S. Jerome, in their interpretation of Acts viii. 14-17, and the confessions even of Presbyterian commentators, such as Delitzch, on Heb. vi. 1, 2, are well known. See *Outlines*, pp. 227-229.

down by Calvin, and has been adopted as the constitution of several Presbyterian Churches. This interpretation of S. Paul's language is *refuted* by Rothe, p. 224, Ritschl, p. 252 sq., and Schaff. *Hist. of Apost. Ch.* ii. p. 312, besides older writers, such as Vitringa and Mosheim.' He might have added that it has been refuted also by the late Principal of the University of Aberdeen, the learned Dr. P. C. Campbell, in his 'treatise on *The Ruling Eldership*, where, though a Presbyterian himself, he shows that the office is not 'founded on the word of God,' nor 'agreeable thereto.'

The position occupied by Principal Tulloch towards the subject we have been discussing is, on the whole, very different from that of Dean Stanley. Wishing always to be loyal to the true interests of the Established Church of Scotland, of which he is such a distinguished ornament, nevertheless, in the interests of historical Truth, he has not scrupled to give testimony from time to time which could not fail to be unacceptable to many of his less enlightened brethren. It is not for me to say whether, with the convictions he holds, and the opportunities he has enjoyed, he might not have done more to satisfy the responsibilities which devolve upon him from both: I must be content to inform the reader what he has actually done.

1. In his admirable sketch of John Knox, first published in 1859, he expressed his estimate of our Scottish Reformation as 'sturdy indeed and uncompromising in its faith, and free in its instincts, but with no sacred inheritance of traditional story binding it by beautiful links to the great Catholic past; and further, as has been

long too sadly apparent, with no sympathetic expansiveness for moulding into religious unity classes widely separated in material rank and in intellectual and artistic culture.' (*Leaders of Reformation*, p. 264.)

And again, he admits that developed—or, to use his own more forcible expression, 'hardened'—as it soon became 'into a Calvinistic Creed and Presbyterian ritual,' it was not destined 'to penetrate the old historical families of the kingdom,' and consequently it has failed 'to mould the nation, people, barons and nobles into a religious unity.' (*Ibid.* p. 319 sq.)

2. In a Lecture delivered in Edinburgh and at S. Andrews, in 1865, while claiming the authority both of Hooker and Leighton for the principle of *Indifferentism* upon the question of the Church's Ministry to an extent which appeared to me at the time quite irreconcileable with what we know of their teaching taken as a whole, he nevertheless had the fairness to avow 'as simply matter of History which no candid enquirer could deny,' that 'Episcopacy, as an Order distinct from Presbyters, has continued in the Church since the latter age of S. John.' (p. 19.)

3. In an Article published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, January, 1872, he went further, and confessed that 'there are few wise Presbyterians who do not see weaknesses in their own system arising from the disuse of Episcopacy.' (p. 236.)

4. In the Sermon spoken of above as having been preached this year at the opening of the General Assembly, I gladly recognize as much forbearance, and perhaps I ought to add as much impartiality, as was to be expected

on such an occasion. We discover indeed the working of the old leaven of theoretical *Indifferentism* at p. 8, where we read: 'There may be, and we believe there are, Ecclesiastical Policies which are *better* than others, *nearer*¹ to the New Testament Ideal than others.' But elsewhere (p. 17) we are told that 'The true Church is historical in doctrine and ritual. No Church can, without injury, separate itself from the past—the inherited belief and traditions of Christendom.' It is well that none of his hearers was able, probably, to remember, how the preacher himself had formerly declared that the Scottish Reformation had actually done this for the Church whose 'General Assembly' he was then addressing. (See above, p. 65.)

All this is no more than was to be expected from a divine of Dr. Tulloch's highly intellectual and philosophical cast of mind. Nothing could be more alien from his nature than to join the extreme Presbyterians of a former age in denouncing Episcopacy as Popish and Anti-Christian; and no Prelatist, however rank, could have encountered more determined opposition than he would have met with even in the Westminster Assembly, which, having first taken a solemn pledge to do their utmost to extirpate Prelacy, proceeded to examine the Word of God, and there found that a ministerial platform of coequal clerical Pastors, of semi-lay ruling Elders, and lay Dea-

¹ May not these comparatives be meant to point at Popery rather than Episcopacy? or if at Reformed Episcopacy, at overgrown dioceses, like those of England, which was John Knox's objection to Episcopacy, as he had there witnessed it? (See Works, vol. v. p. 515.) And then all will be consistent.

cons is *alone of Divine appointment*, and, as such, *of perpetual obligation*¹! At the same time, if he entertains, as is only too probable, quite as little sympathy with my own endeavours as tending too much into the opposite extreme, this is what I am quite prepared for; nay more, so much are we all the creatures of circumstances—witness John Henry Newman, and my old friend and school-fellow Henry Edward Manning, now Cardinals of the Church of Rome—that there is, I will confess, reason to fear that I might myself have been led to think and to feel the same, had I been in the same position. But this, of course, does not release me from the obligation of stating and maintaining the Truth as, placed where I am by the good Providence of God, I seem to see it. On the contrary, reduced in numbers, as a Church, simply and entirely through political considerations, or, to speak more plainly, through the mistaken loyalty which during a whole century (1688–1788) stood out *for* the exiled Stuart family, though Roman Catholics, and *against* the settlement of the Crown accepted by Church and State in England, though the political union of the two countries had taken place in 1707—reduced, I say, through these circumstances to a minority not exceeding three per cent. of the population, it is only the more incumbent upon us not to suffer the still small voice of the Truth, as we have received it, to be drowned in the discordant clamour of the overwhelming multitudes who gainsay, or stifled by the oppressive silence of the miscellaneous crowd still more numerous, of those who are indifferent.

¹ See *Outlines*, pp. 78 and 135.

And now to return once more to Dr. Lightfoot's Essay before I conclude.

I assume that the object which Dr. Lightfoot had in view in writing that elaborate, and, to borrow Dean Stanley's term, 'exhaustive' dissertation, was not merely a theoretical but a practical one; and that the practical object which he proposed to himself was not simply the same which Dean Stanley contemplated in quoting it, and which we must suppose to have been a desire to befriend the cause of Presbyterianism, or of Indifferentism, or both; but rather his object was to make the Anglican position as strong as the Truth allows, by taking out of the way all supports which in his opinion cannot be depended on as thoroughly trusty, firm, and substantial. Manifestly he did not favour the line of thought acquiesced in by many at the present day, that the matter is comparatively unimportant, or he would not have devoted so much time and study to its careful consideration. Rather, we must conclude, that he regarded it, in its way, as involving consequences no less worthy of his serious and patient attention than those which are involved in the problems raised by the author of *Supernatural Religion*. Moreover, on the one hand he has nothing to say in behalf of the Congregationalist theory; for he sees elements at work from the first which clearly imply corporate association and corporate action; and, on the other hand, though he discards 'an exclusive sacerdotalism as contradicting the general tenor of the Gospel' (p. 243 and note), he recognizes for all ministerial purposes a plain distinction between Clergy and Laity (pp. 180, 244, 265 sq.). The

main defect, as it appears to me, in his treatment of the subject is that which I have before ventured to point out, viz. the adoption of a mistaken principle of *evolution*¹—of the evolution first of the Priesthood of the Ministry out of the Priesthood of the People (p. 256), and next of the Order of the Episcopate out of the Order of the Priesthood (p. 194)—and the substitution of that principle, founded upon merely human considerations, for the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, to which, nevertheless, in the end he is content, more or less directly, to have recourse. To say that ‘the Episcopate was evolved out of the Presbyterate, and not the Presbyterate out of the Episcopate,’ betrays to my mind a misconception of the essential principle which lies at the root of the whole question. Of course, as a rule, men were made Presbyters before they were made Bishops, as they were also made Deacons before they became Presbyters; otherwise there would be no propriety in S. Paul’s use of the word *βαθμὸς, degree*, in 1 Tim. iii. 13. But what our divines have hitherto maintained is, that both were *evolved* out of the Apostolate, as the Apostolate was *evolved*, if I may so speak, out of the person of the Divine Founder of the

¹ A severe critic of the Essay in the *New York Churchman*, May, 1878, speaks of it as ‘serving in the interests of Darwin, Huxley, and Mill. Of the two parallel courses of reasoning, namely, Darwin’s and Lightfoot’s,—the first relating to the natural, and the second to the spiritual creation—we must confess that Darwin’s is the more satisfactory and conclusive. He makes fewer baseless assumptions. There are not so many missing links. He is a closer reasoner. It must not be supposed that we admit the soundness of Darwin’s logic. We simply assert that it is much safer than Dr. Lightfoot’s.’

Church. This is what our Church means when, in the passage quoted above, it asserts that 'It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons'; which words are to be understood not merely as stating an historical fact, but as indicating the root out of which the Ministry of the Church originally sprung. This too is what Hooker means when he writes: 'It clearly appeareth by Holy Scripture that Churches Apostolic did know but three degrees in the power of Ecclesiastical Order; *at the first*, Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons; *afterwards*, instead of Apostles, Bishops.' (Book V. ch. lxxviii. 9.) And again:—'I may securely conclude that there are at this day in the Church of England no other than the same degrees of Ecclesiastical Order, viz. Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, which *had their beginning from Christ and His blessed Apostles themselves.*' (Ibid. 12.)

It will not, I hope, be too much to ask of Dr. Lightfoot that he would endeavour to realize to himself our position in this country—a position in all essential respects identical with his own, though in worldly circumstances so widely different. As Christians we have a plain command in the New Testament to 'submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.' The Presbyterian Church Establishment is undoubtedly such an ordinance. Why then do we not submit to it? Simply because we have another Scriptural command no less plain, and more directly concerning our duty to God himself—to avoid

divisions, to cherish unity. And God, as we believe, has not only given us this command, but has also put into our hands a twofold instrument whereby we may all be enabled to keep it, viz. *the Instrument of the Catholic Ministry and the Catholic Creeds of the Undivided Church*. Dr. Lightfoot has himself very forcibly pointed out how the testimony of S. Ignatius in behalf of the Threecold Ministry has reference mainly to the *unity of organization*¹, and the testimony of Irenæus to the *unity of the Faith*². It is not, therefore, with us a question of 'unchurching,' as it is called, Non-Episcopalians; neither is it a question whether one form of Ministry and Church-government may not be as good as another; but the question is, *how we may best obey God's command of unity*, with a view to the welfare and extension of Christ's Church: whether, *through His own instruments*, as we regard them—and as Dr. Lightfoot himself apparently is, at least, inclined to regard them—or *through the self-chosen instruments of man*. Can we doubt that the Providence of God and of Christ watched over the formation of the Canon of Scripture, the upgrowth of the observance of the Lord's Day, of Infant Baptism, of Episcopal Confirmation (upon which Dr. Lightfoot, like Dean Stanley, is altogether

¹ Thus at p. 233 sq. he writes, 'S. Ignatius values the Episcopate chiefly as a security for good discipline and harmonious action in the Church.'

² See p. 238 sq. where he writes that, according to Irenæus, 'the Bishop is the depositary of Primitive Truth—of Apostolic Tradition.' And he adds: 'This view is not peculiar to Irenæus. It seems to have been advanced *earlier* by Hegeisippus,' and *later* 'it is distinctly maintained by Tertullian.'

silent, notwithstanding the remarkable testimony of Jerome¹), and the authoritative promulgation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity? And are we not to believe that the same Providence² was equally engaged in bringing about in regard to the Ministry of the Church a result equally authoritative, equally universal? And if it is objected that the same argument would be available to cover the development of Popery, I answer No! because those were all conclusions of undivided Christendom; whereas, undivided Christendom never gave its sanction to Papal Supremacy: on the contrary, the Eastern section of it, no less than the Reformed Churches of the West, have never ceased to protest against it.

Dr. Lightfoot grants, or rather, I ought to say, claims 'Apostolic direction'—nay more, he virtually claims 'a Divine appointment or at least a Divine sanction' for the Threefold Ministry. He calls it 'a divinely appointed order' (p. 265). Will he claim, will he grant the same to any other? Will he admit that Presbyterianism is 'founded upon the word of God, and agreeable thereto'? He has declared the contrary in reference to the *Ruling Elder* portion of that system (p. 193). What will he say

¹ 'Etiamsi Scripturae auctoritas non subesset, totius Orbis in hunc partem consensus instar praecepti obtineret,' *Adv. Lucif.* c. 9. See also Cyprian, Ep. lxxiii. ad Tubaianum, c. 9, before referred to.

² At p. 232, Dr. Lightfoot acknowledges that what he considers 'the development of the Episcopal Office was a *Providential* safeguard amid the confusion of speculative opinion, the distracting effects of persecution and the growing anarchy of social life.' But then, at p. 243, he regards the concentration of authority wielded by the Popes during the middle ages as similarly 'Providential.'

of the *Teaching Elder* portion? In the Preface to my work before referred to, I have noticed the above conclusions of Dr. Lightfoot as 'amply sufficient and satisfactory.' I have also stated my agreement with him, 'that the facts do not *allow*'—certainly do not *require*—'us to unchurch other Christian communities differently organized.' But is anything really gained by these concessions, when I have to add, as I did (p. xiv.), that 'the co-existence of different organizations, equally claiming to be "Churches," *in the same place*, has not come up in the course of the Professor's investigation, and appears to rest upon no sufficient human, as it is certainly rests upon no Divine, authority'; and further, that 'not a single well-authenticated instance of merely Presbyterian Ordination is to be found in the records of the ancient Church'? It is idle to complain of the want of Christian unity so long as we forbear to point out—to maintain for ourselves and to urge upon others—the use of those instruments which God's Word and Providence have combined to recommend, in order that we might enjoy that inestimable benefit. Are we to tell God that other means will do as well as those which He has *probably* sanctioned? I insert the word 'probably,' because I am putting Dr. Lightfoot's own conclusion, and I am anxious not to overstate it in the least degree. Or are we to make God the author of confusion and not of order in His Church? It appears to me that, acknowledging, as we do, not only the plainness and the stringency of the command of unity, but also its practical importance for the well-being and extension of the Church, a grave responsibility rests on all who, while by their teaching

and practice they obscure the path which, according to the plain statement of our Church, Scriptural and Apostolic guidance has pointed out, so that 'the wayfaring men though fools might not err therein,' *make no attempt to secure the Divine requirement of unity in some other way*. And this responsibility becomes the more urgent in proportion as the guidance of the Civil Power, to which many especially of the poorer and less educated classes have been wont to look, is being gradually withdrawn, and *we are more and more closely threatened with the levelling process of Disestablishment*. All honour is due to the strict and impartial investigation of Truth, to whatever issues it may lead; and no opposition that is raised to the blind spirit of a narrow and uncharitable partizanship upon either side can be too decided or too strong. But while we sorrowfully confess that far too much of this spirit has been seen in the past, and still is to be seen amongst us; let us not fail to reflect that in setting ourselves to correct it—which will be the endeavour of every well-constituted mind—there may be some danger of forgetting that the interests at stake are not our own, or the property of our own generation merely, but of all who are to come after us to the end of time.

It would be no slight evil to the Church of England and to ourselves if the name of the present occupant of the great See of Durham, whom we all respect and esteem, should ever become lastingly abused as that of the learned Bishop of Worcester in a former age has been and still is. I allude to Edward Stillingfleet, who in the last year of the Commonwealth, 1659, at a moment when Church and

State were in the lowest depths of disorganization, just after he had been ordained, published his *Irenicum, a Weapon Salvè for the Church's wounds: humbly tendered to consideration*—a work of remarkable learning and ability for so young an author, and written with the best intentions, but with the hasty zeal and immaturity of judgment incident to youth, and consequently not such as the author himself in later life could altogether approve; as he shewed by the way in which he spoke of it both before and after he was made a Bishop. *The disapproval, however, has been disregarded, forgotten or unknown*; and the work, which was designed to disclaim a Divine Sanction for any particular form of Church government, has been quoted again and again¹ simply as giving the authority of a Bishop and

¹ To produce one or two specimens: (1) In Principal Hill's *Theological Institutes*, a work of high authority among Presbyterians, first published in 1803, and still used, I believe, very generally as a text-book throughout Scotland, we read, p. 181: 'The New Testament does not prescribe any one particular form of Church government in such a manner as to render another form unlawful. This principle was first explained by Hooker in the third Book of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*'—I have elsewhere fully shewn what is to be said of this statement in regard to Hooker—'and was afterwards demonstrated by the learned and profound BISHOP STILLINGFLEET, in the treatise which he entitled *Irenicium*.'

(2) In the recently published work on *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, by the Rev. Messrs. Abbey and Overton, we are informed that 'Wesley had learned from BISHOP STILLINGFLEET's *Irenicum* to be heartily ashamed of the opinion he once held that the Episcopal form of Church government is prescribed in Scripture'—vol. ii. p. 68: see also p. 83, where the same statement is repeated without any indication to the reader of the real facts of the case. And again in vol. i. pp. 274, 388, Stillingfleet is spoken of as 'another illustrious name of the Latitudinarian side' upon the

great Divine—the most learned Divine of the time in which he lived¹—to the disparagement of Episcopacy, or,

question of Church government; simply out of regard to this youthful performance.

And now for Stillingfleet's own more mature judgment, pronounced both before and after he became a Bishop, in reference to the same work.

(1) In the Dedication to an Ordination Sermon, 1685:—‘I do not deny that I do now think much more is to be said for the *Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy* than I at that time’—when he wrote the *Irenicum*—‘apprehended, as will fully appear in the following Sermon.’ And then he goes on to explain the time and circumstances in which the treatise was written, as sufficient to account for ‘the errors and mistakes in it’; and mentions especially ‘the scepticalness and injudiciousness of youth.’ (Works, vol. i. p. 358.) See also *Conferences concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome*, 1686, vol. vi. p. 49, where in the person of P. D. he speaks of his own book, and says: ‘I believe there are many things in it which, if Dr. Stillingfleet were to write now, he would not have said; for there are some which shew his youth and want of due consideration; others which he yielded too far in hopes of gaining Dissenting parties to the Church of England,’ &c. Again, in the Preface to his *Unreasonableness of Separation*, 1681, vol. ii. p. 461 sq., he had said that it was written ‘twenty years since, with great tenderness towards the Dissenters, before the Laws were established,’ and that he had since ‘seen reason to alter his judgment.’

(2) In his Primary Charge, as Bishop, 1690, vol. iii. 621 sq., where he distinctly *argues in favour of Episcopacy as of Divine appointment, and repudiates the notion that any other form of Church government could substantiate such a claim*, he maintains that ‘Bishops are successors of the Apostles,’ and he can ‘see no medium but that either the Primitive Bishops did succeed the Apostles by *their own appointment and approbation*—which Irenaeus expressly affirms—or else those who governed the Apostolical Churches, outwent Diotrephes himself, &c., &c.’ The true story of the *Irenicum* is fully told in Hickes’ *Treatises*, vol. i. p. 239 sq. See also Orme’s *Life of Baxter*, p. 628.

¹ Bentley, who had been his Chaplain, described him as ‘the

in other words, of the view that the Threefold Ministry is of Divine or Scriptural obligation. If what I have written shall have any effect in preventing such a result in Dr. Lightfoot's case, so that the name of our new Bishop of Durham may not go down to posterity as sponsor for the opinions which Dean Stanley has ascribed to him, I shall be satisfied that the time and pains spent upon the composition of these *Remarks* have not been ill bestowed.

glory of our Church and Nation, who by his vast and comprehensive genius is as great in all parts of learning as the greatest next himself are in any.' (Preface to *Dissert. on Phalaris*; Works, vol. i. p. 4.) Compliments scarcely less than this have been paid to Dr. Lightfoot, and I heartily wish that he may be able to make good his claim to them in the same way that Bishop Stillingfleet did.

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